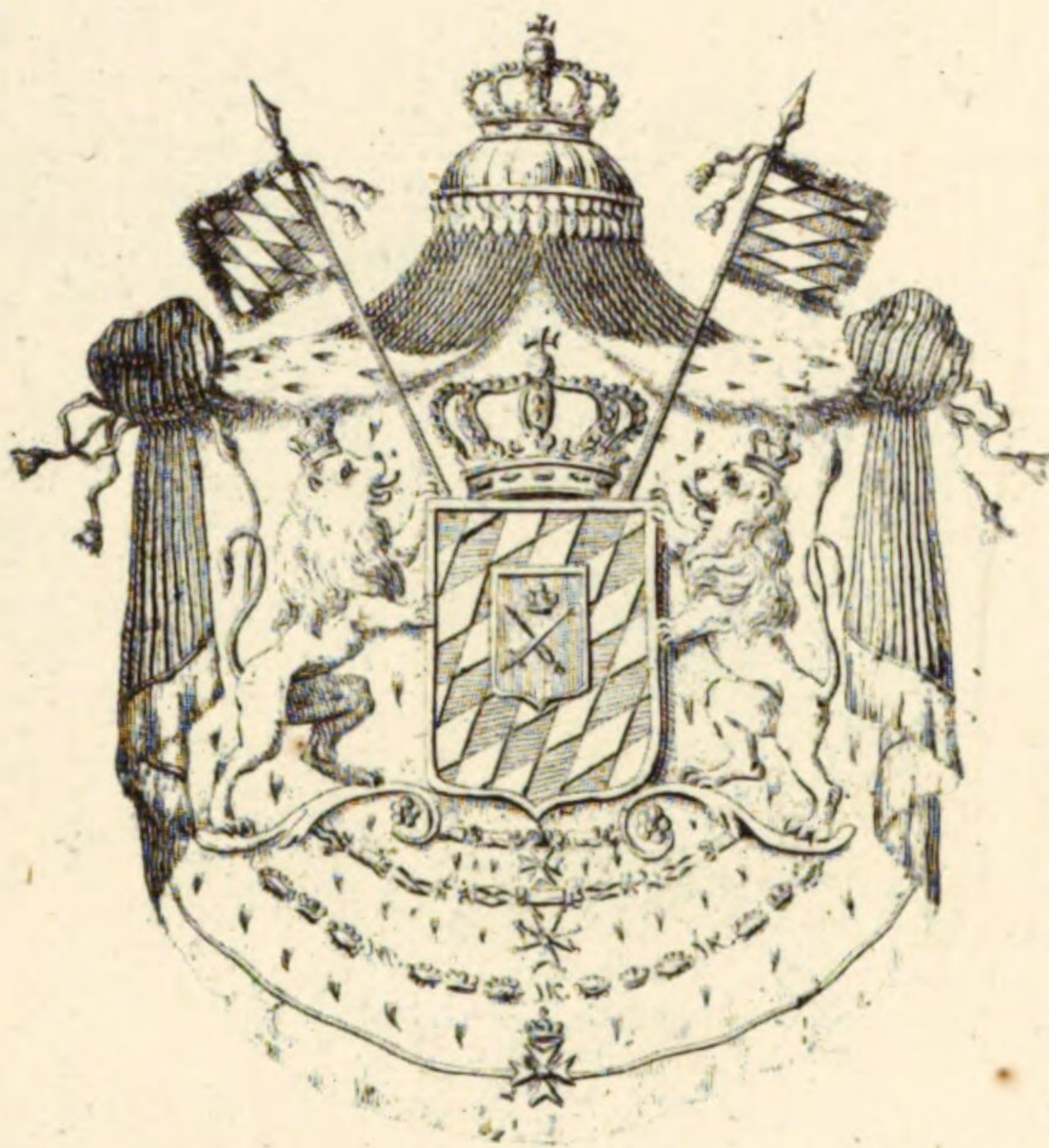




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THE HISTORY
OF THE
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IN SPAIN.

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IN SPAIN.



Meridian of Greenwich

Engraved by J. Walker Junr.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
MAHOMETAN EMPIRE IN SPAIN:

CONTAINING
A GENERAL HISTORY OF THE ARABS,
THEIR INSTITUTIONS, CONQUESTS, LITERATURE, ARTS, SCIENCES,
AND MANNERS,
TO THE EXPULSION OF THE MOORS.

DESIGNED AS
AN INTRODUCTION
TO
THE ARABIAN ANTIQUITIES OF SPAIN,
BY JAMES CAVANAH MURPHY,
ARCHITECT.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES, STRAND;
BY WILLIAM BULMER AND CO. CLEVELAND-ROW, ST. JAMES'S.

1816.

232.D.

THE
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OF THE
MAHOMETAN EMPIRE IN SPAIN



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P R E F A C E.

THE effects produced by the Arabs, while they held the sovereignty of Spain, have been sufficiently felt and acknowledged throughout Europe, to render their History a matter of great interest and research. Aware of this circumstance, various writers have, of late years, directed their attention to the subject; though few have contributed to its elucidation. Without the means of attaining to that primary and purest source of information, which the records of the Arabs possess, they have, for the most part, successively followed each other in the same maze of fable and of error. The writings of the Arabs on this topic, it may further be remarked, are seldom to be met with; and the European readers of these writings are equally rare. For these reasons it is hoped, that the following work, which is either extracted immediately from the most approved Arabic historians, or is compiled, where these failed, from other authorities best deserving of credit, will, on account of its authenticity, obtain a favourable reception.

Of the difficulty of the task here attempted, an adequate idea can be formed by those only, who are actually conversant with the manuscripts of the Arabs, and who have selected and translated from them: in the arrangement and uniform characters of European writings, such difficulties are unknown. And, notwithstanding the care taken in the selection of evidence, as well as in the ascertainment of its meaning, yet such is the discordancy of the different records on some points, and the uncertainty which must frequently occur in the reading of Arabic words, that indulgence may with reason be shown by the critic, if any inconsistency or mistake, arising from such causes, should be discovered.

THE HISTORY OF THE MAHOMETAN EMPIRE IN SPAIN, divides itself into two principal portions: first, the Political and Military History of the Arabs in that country; and, secondly, the History of their Civil Institutions, Literature, Sciences, Arts, Manufactures, Commerce, &c. For which of these portions the authors are severally responsible, it now remains to inform the Public.

For the Introduction, which presents a concise account of the early history of the Arabs previously to their conquest of Spain, the publishers are indebted to the kindness and liberality of the acute and LEARNED HISTORIAN OF ANCIENT GREECE.

PART I. containing the Political and Military History of the

Mahometan Empire in Spain, together with the description of Cordova,* and the translation of the Arabic inscriptions in the Appendix, are due to Mr. JOHN SHAKESPEAR, Professor of Oriental Languages to the Honourable East India Company's Military Seminary: of the Arabic MSS. consulted by him, Mr. Shakespear has given some account in the course of the following pages.† The remainder of PART I., comprising a Topographical Account of the Principal Seats of the Mahometan Empire in Spain, and the whole of PART II., which treats on the Literature, Sciences, Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, as well as on the Civil and Military Institutions of the Arabs, were composed by Mr. THOMAS HARTWELL HORNE, Sub-Librarian of the Surry Institution, who has availed himself of the best authorities that could be procured and in particular of the elaborate Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the Escorial, formed by the learned Miguel Casiri; which contains a treasure of undoubted information, relative to the Political, Literary, and Civil History of the Arabs in Spain, not generally accessible, and hitherto almost unexplored.

Before the authors submit the result of their labours to the perusal of the public, they deem it proper to offer some explanation respecting the system of orthography pursued in this work,—a measure which has, in fact, become necessary,

* pp. 29-159, 162-184.

† pp. 31-52.

from the various and discordant systems that have been adopted, in the application of Roman characters to Arabic words.

Wherever references, then, are made to European authors, or any facts are related on their authority, the names are, for the most part, transcribed without alteration, as is the case in the citations from the *Bibliotheca Arabico-Escorialensis* of Casiri; in order that the reader may not be bewildered in consulting the authorities. Where, however, the work is translated immediately from Arabic MSS. (as in Mr. Shakespear's portion) the letter *a* should be pronounced as in the English words *man*, *cap*, *fat*; *ā*, as in the word *all*; the diphthong *ai*, as the English *i* in *dire*; the diphthong *au*, as the English *ou* in *our*; *gh*, as a deep guttural sound of *g*, much resembling the Northumbrian *r*; *h*, with an aspiration sensibly uttered, as in *horse*. Further, *i* is to be pronounced short, as in *fin*, *ill*; *ī*, as *ee* in *peer*; *k*, as in *king*; *ḵ*, if ever found thus marked, more deeply in the throat than the English *k*; *kh*, gutturally, like the German or Scotch *ch*; *s*, as in *sin*; *sh*, as in *shine*; *th*, as in *thin*; *u*, as the Italian *u* short, or as *oo* in *foot*; and *ū* long, as in *cool*, *fool*. Lastly, the letter *y*, if it precede a vowel, should be pronounced, as in *yoke*; but, where it is final in a word, it should be uttered as in the English word *daily*.

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INTRODUCTION.

A REVIEW OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE ARABS—THEIR INSTITUTIONS—RELIGION—CONQUESTS, &c. PREVIOUSLY TO THEIR INVASION OF SPAIN.

CHAPTER I.

Account of Ancient Arabia—Its Provinces—Conquests, &c. of the Arabs, to the time of Mahomet.

ARABIA, or at least the most considerable part of it, was from remote antiquity called by the natives, Arabah; which name it still retains. In the language of the Arabs, however, the country which they inhabit is styled Jazīrah al Arab, that is, the Peninsula of the Arabians: their historians also describe it by the appellations of Belad al Arab, the region of the Arabs,—Diyar al Arab, the provinces of the Arabs, and by some Oriental writers it is termed Arabistān, or the country of the Arabs.*

Arabia, properly so called, is that great peninsula formed by the Arabic Gulph, the Indian Ocean, and the Persian Gulph: the ancients

* D'Herbelot Bibl. Orient. Vol. I. p. 134 (4to. ed.) Anc. Univ. Hist. Vol. XVI. p. 243, and the authorities there cited, D'Anville's Anc. Geog. Vol. II. p. 1 Sale's Koran, Vol. I. p. 2. (Svo. edit.)

appear to have comprehended, under the name of Arabia, the whole tract lying between those seas, and a line drawn from the point of the Persian to that of the Arabic Gulph. This line, however, was not the real boundary of the country, but merely fancied to be such by ignorance. Arabia forms a spacious triangle of irregular dimensions; and is bounded on the east, by the Persian Gulph and the Euphrates; on the west, by that of Arabia, now called the Red Sea; and on the south, by part of the Indian Ocean, anciently the Erythræan Sea, to which it presents a front of one thousand miles. The apex of the triangle is placed at Thapsacus (El-Dur); through the fords of which Xenophon conducted his Greeks, on their memorable retreat, across the Euphrates.* From this northern summit to its southern base, along the Indian Ocean, the length of Arabia stretches nearly fifteen hundred miles; and its superficial content is fully eight times the measure of Great Britain.

Although this peninsula was peopled from the earliest times, yet it never admitted of a population, at all proportioned to its dimensions: for the far greater part of Arabia consists only of a sandy plain, intersected by sharp and naked rocks, situate in a happier climate indeed, but more destitute of wood and water than even the deserts of Tartary. In the midst of dreary wastes, spots of scanty vegetation are nourished by the dews of night: the tamarind, acacia, and other hardy plants, strike their roots into the clefts of rocks; and several stations must be traversed by caravans, before the exhausted travellers can reach a well of water to assuage their burning thirst. Such is the general condition of Neged or the Sandy Arabia, the Arabia Deserta of ancient geographers: but fertility begins with the high lands, particularly those bordering on the Indian Ocean, which are distinguished by shady groves and flowing streams. The air of this division is more temperate, and

* De Exped. Cyri, p. 257, edit. Leunclav.

consequently more favourable to population : and the numbers, both of men and of animals, are considerably greater than in the former region. Among the vegetable productions, the palms and vines are exuberantly fruitful : and frankincense, the most esteemed of aromatics, was produced here in greater abundance than in any other country of antiquity. Contrasted with the inland solitudes, which form the great body of the peninsula, this maritime district well deserved to be called the Happy Arabia, the Arabia Felix of ancient geographical writers. These divisions, however, of Arabia, into the Sandy or Desert, the Stony, and the Happy, are unknown to the natives themselves : and modern historians have remarked it as a singular circumstance, that a country, whose language and inhabitants have ever been the same, should retain scarcely a vestige of its ancient geography. The maritime districts of Bahrein and Oman are opposite to the Persian empire : the kingdom of Yamen displays the limits, or at least the situation of Arabia Felix : the name of Najd, or Neged, is extended over the inland space ; and the province of Hijàz which spreads itself along the coast of the Red Sea,—though inferior in fertility and beauty to that of Yamen, which it resembles in many particulars,—has become illustrious from being the birth-place of Mahomet.*

The Koran frequently boasts of the situation of Arabia, as being placed in the middle of the world, for the more easy and rapid diffusion of the faith of Islām.† Arabia was certainly encompassed by the greatest and richest countries of antiquity. Towards the north, its deserts are contiguous to Assyria and Syria, that is, to Aram on both sides of the Euphrates, the earliest seats of civilization and power : on the south and east, a sea of no great extent divides Arabia from India ; from Persia it is disjoined only by a narrow streight ; and one equally

* Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1110 (tom. ii. ed. Oxon.) Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. ix. p. 222. Sale's Koran, pp. 2, 3.

† Koran, ch. ii.

narrow unites it in commerce with Egypt and Ethiopia. This advantageous situation, which Mahomet assumes as destined for the propagation of the only true faith, history proves to have been efficacious, from the earliest time, in very important transactions, both of war and of commerce.*

From the dawn of recorded history the natives of Arabia have appeared with the same characteristic features ;—men of open hearts and boiling passions, quick in apprehension, articulate and voluble of speech, with ardour to undertake great enterprises, and with a presence of mind and perseverance every way adapted to carry them into execution. They were divided into various tribes, occasionally friendly or hostile, under governments that might be called free when compared with those of any other portion of the East, not excepting the kindred pastoral plains of Scythia or Tartary. What the Goths were in Europe, the Arabs have always been in Asia,—pre-eminent in boldness to act and in patience to suffer ; and hence they have been peculiarly distinguished by the sense of personal freedom and the love of national independence. With such hardy dispositions, confirmed into habit by perpetual collision in their commercial expeditions and continued pastoral migrations, it might be expected that their martial spirit would be marked in deep characters upon the nations around them ; and, to check their incursions, it is related that Sesostris erected the long wall of fifteen hundred stadia from Pelusium to Heliopolis. Of the battles fought by the Arabians before the time of Mahomet, seventeen hundred are recorded by tradition : but the poems, which they boasted of possessing instead of written laws, served to little purpose in governing either themselves or the people whom they subjugated.

Though divided into small communities, their admiration of valour or their superstition could often unite their winged archers and cavalry

* The commerce of the Arabs is noticed *infra*, Part II. Chap. II. Sect. I.

under a single standard. This must have happened before they could have effected the first of their recorded conquests, in the interval which elapsed between Joseph and Moses. During that period, the shepherd Kings of Arabia completed the subjugation of Egypt, then the most flourishing kingdom of the world.* “The King, who knew not Joseph,”† exactly accords with the notices of profane history, and marks the establishment of a new dynasty. It is a circumstance highly worthy of observation, that the ancient Arabian conquerors, like the victorious Mahometans of later times, left at home behind them, the native virtues of the deserts: instead of mild patriarchs, with their council of elders and the congregation of the people, they passed at one bound from simplicity to luxury; adopted the vices of the vanquished nations, and speedily became the victims of their own wretched passions.

The next memorable achievement of the Arabs happened at the distance of several centuries, that is, about 1230 years before the Christian æra. A little before this time, their tribes had been united under a chief, called Ariaeus by the Greeks, perhaps the Haleth of the Arabs. This was the age of Ninus, the first great Asiatic conqueror; whose actions are authenticated by the combined evidence of history and monuments. Ariaeus, instead of extending his conquests westward, was desirous of participating in the richer spoils of the east. He easily associated his arms with those of Ninus: for the Assyrians and Arabs had long been connected in commerce; they professed the same Sabian religion; and the language of Aram on both sides of the river, that is of Assyria in its largest sense, was essentially the same with that spoken by the Arabians,‡ whether resident in cities or wanderers of the desert.

The diffusion of Saracen invaders through Egypt and the East, it might be expected, would totally exhaust a country always thinly

* Josephus cont. Apion. l. i. c. 14, and Marsham's Can. Chron. p. 98, et seq.

† Exodus, ch. i. v. 8.

‡ Strabo, L. 1, p. 59 (ed. Oxon.)

peopled : but these drains of population, such are the constitutions and climate of the Arabians, have always been speedily supplied. In conformity with what is observed in other lands producing the hardiest natives, Arabia is rather a foundry than a magazine of men : the territory may pour forth a large proportion of its people ; but the prolific energy of a single age is sufficient to restore that measure of population which the soil is calculated to nourish. Accordingly we find, that from the age of Ninus to that of Mahomet, none of the great nations, that controlled the revolutions of the world, ever gained any important trophies in Arabia. Of the Persians under both dynasties, as well as of the Greeks, Parthians, and Romans, some valorous achievements are recorded ; and some important successes in Arabia are said to have been obtained by them. On a closer examination, however, all these advantages, some of which flattery has magnified into conquests, will appear to have been local and transient : whereas the Arabians, either as principals, or more frequently as allies, interposed with dignity and effect in the affairs of their neighbours, and generally threw the balance of success on the side which they espoused. The modern Persians,* therefore, only betrayed their ignorance in ancient history, when they vilified the Arabs as a race of *Taxis*, or coursers, who fed on lizards, and drank the milk of camels ; but the burst of valour displayed under the successors of Mahomet and their generals, taught the Persian poets to assume a different tone, to celebrate the Arabs “ as a people exulting in liberty, delighting in eloquence, in acts of liberality, and in martial achievements, as making the whole earth red with the blood of their foes, and the *air* like a forest of canes with their tall spears.”

* The Persians have always been called Barbarians by the Arabs, as well as by the Greeks. Abulfeda, p. 194.

CHAPTER II.

An Account of the Arabs, from the time of Mahomet till the Arrival of Mūsa, at Tangiers.—State of Spain previously to its Invasion by the Moors.

THE eloquence of the Arabs, however extolled by Ferdausi, has served but little to illustrate their early history. Their first composition in prose, that remains to us, is the Koran of Mahomet. Their only domestic records consist of the remains of ancient poets preserved from one generation to another by oral tradition, and whose poems have been commented upon, by various expositions and notes and genealogies, the work of far later times, but all equally traditional. Although the art of writing was either unknown or at least but little practised among the Arabs, their language had early attained to great improvement, both as to the number of words and the precision of phrases, and the poorest among them had learned to express themselves in flowing and forcible periods. This distinction is doubtless primarily to be ascribed to their pre-eminence in liberty above other Asiatic nations. But it was augmented and confirmed by a singularity in their institutions, which deserves to be commemorated and admired. The cities of Hijàz along the Red Sea, as well as those of Yamen on the Indian Ocean, were staples of trade, carried on among distant and often hostile nations, under the protection of temples and superstition. These sacred cities, like innumerable others in the upper as well as the lower Asia, had their annual fairs of two months, distinguished by various sports and ceremonies, and particularly by intellectual competitions of poetry and eloquence; in which, under the eye of approved judges, as in the

Olympic, and other sacred games of Greece, the candidates for fame disputed with each other the palm of those noble attainments.* In both countries, the high perfection even of unwritten language was the natural result.

The general introduction of writing leads to composition in prose: before this takes place, laws, religion, history, and genealogies are all taught and communicated in verse, which alone can be handed down with certainty from parents to children through a long chain of tradition. Mahomet himself could neither read nor write; yet, to an Arabian ear and understanding, the wildest chapter in his Koran is stamped with the ineffable graces and resistless vigour of diction. It was promulgated by small divisions in the course of twenty-three years, as conjunctures and exigencies required: of this composition, which first infused into prose all the harmony and animation of poetry, great was the effect among a people, with whom the culture of eloquence had long been a national concern; and who from nature, and habitual indulgence were peculiarly prone to the illusions of an overheated fancy. As the Athenians acknowledged inspiration in the forcible and flowing oratory of Gorgias of Leontium, and would have worshipped him as a God, so the Arabs,—men of still warmer minds—imagined that they saw the hand of the Almighty in the work of Mahomet. No uninspired mortal, they affirmed, is capable of wielding the vast fabric of their language. Mahomet boldly exhibited his Koran as a clear and perpetually existing proof of the divinity of his mission. This evidence, always open to examination, was the strongest, he maintained, that could be brought: it was a standing miracle totally superseding the necessity of every other.

The genius of Mahomet, his enthusiasm, his eloquence, and memory, were favoured by peculiar accidents of birth and fortune. In the

* Schultens in Præfat. ad Monument. Vetust. Arab.

language of his countrymen he sprung from the race of Thenanah, the best of the Arabs, from the tribe of Koreish, the best of Thenanah, and was the direct descendant of Hashim, the best of the Koreish.* The family of Hashim held a sort of hereditary, but very limited jurisdiction over Mecca and its territory, as ordinary presidents of the famous Caaba or temple, of which they possessed the keys. The government of this city, whose Arabic name denotes a crowded rendezvous, might have rewarded the abilities and gratified the ambition of Mahomet. He would then have been distinguished, like many of his progenitors, by uniting the office of priest and king,—a priest of tutelary idols, and a king, or rather judge, over the citizens and strangers, who partook in the religious rites and frequented the fairs of Mecca. But continued views of the surrounding nations, gained in his commercial expeditions carried on by caravans, inspired him about his fortieth year with far loftier views.† This period of Mahomet's life corresponded with the greatest depression of the Persian and Roman empires. The Western part of the latter had been conquered and usurped by the Goths: the Eastern, from its capital often denominated the Constantinopolitan empire, was engaged in ceaseless wars with Persia, alike ruinous to the victors and to the vanquished; since, jealousy and tyranny having disarmed the subjects of both empires, the waste occasioned by war could only be supplied by mercenaries or slaves. While those rival monarchies were inflicting dreadful wounds on each other, both were harassed by predatory incursions of Huns, Avars, and other nations of Scythian descent, then hovering like ravenous vultures over the rich plains and populous cities of Southern Asia; and both Persians and Greeks were distracted by domestic dissensions of the most virulent nature. Heresies increased in the Christian church and expanded under the rage of too fervid zeal, and the reeking hands of persecution; while abstruse and

* Ockley's Hist. Saracens, v. i. p. 288. † Prideaux, Sale, Gagnier, in their lives of Mahomet.

barren dogmas, and the adoration of the Virgin Mary and of images, were substituted for the heavenly temper, the purity, simplicity, and solemnity of the Gospel.*

At this time Mahomet began to announce himself a prophet, declaring irreconcilable enmity against every species of idolatry, asserting the sole dominion of one God; and characterising those who embraced this doctrine by the name of Musulman, or Moslems, that is, persons perfectly resigned to the divine will. In the first three years of his mission, the number of his proselytes scarcely exceeded a dozen: in about ten years afterwards he was of importance enough to be persecuted by the Koreish and driven from his native city, Mecca, A. D. 622. His flight, however, was accompanied by zealous converts and faithful friends; and the neighbouring city, Medina, already contained many who acknowledged him for the apostle of God, and who were ready to take up arms in his cause. Encouraged by such a reinforcement, and by various consequent advantages in the field, he, who had hitherto trusted the propagation of his faith to missionaries, armed only with the persuasive eloquence of his Koran, now boldly pronounced the indispensable duty of extending his religion by the sword.† This religion of Islām, which signifies devotion to the service of God, is summed up in zealous exertions for making converts, and in rendering those converts soldiers. To these duties they are stimulated by every motive of hope or fear in the present life, or in that which is to come; and such is the influence of enthusiasm directed by craft, that before his death, in the twenty-third year of his pretended mission, Mahomet had united under his banners all the tribes of Arabia; and one of the boldest of his votaries, Kālid, surnamed the Sword of God, with an handful of men, had defeated an army one hundred thousand strong, assembled in Syria, under the generals of the Emperor Heraclius.‡

* Prideaux's Life of Mahomet.

† Sale's Life of Mahomet.

‡ Ockley, vol. i. p. 27.

The successors of Alexander the Great laboriously upheld the conquests of their master. But the Khalifs, that is, the successors of Mahomet, in the course of little more than twenty years, extended their resistless arms above a thousand miles on all sides around them. The habits of the Arabs admirably conspired with the military code of their prophet. They seldom ate flesh ; their drink, before Mahomet converted this into a law, was chiefly water ; when they wished for repose, the ground, bare, or covered simply with a mat, afforded their only accommodation.* This primitive austerity was heightened by the example of the first Khalifs into a kind of sacred military duty. These extraordinary men, Abū Bakr, Omar, Othman, and Ali, who had been companions of the prophet, and had shared in all his dangers, having obtained the sacerdotal and royal supremacy at advanced periods of life, did not indeed assume the command of their armies, or appear personally in the field.† They regarded it as their more immediate duty to perform the rites of religion, and to uphold the observance of justice in their capitals of Mecca and Medina : the latter city being their usual residence ; and the former, only the object of their frequent pilgrimage. From those places they maintained, by letters, a general superintendence over the affairs of Arabia : and, when the Saracens burst as an inundation on the countries around them, the wisdom of the Khalifs alternately impelled, or restrained their course ; regulated the distribution of plunder, of which one-fifth was unalterably dedicated to the public treasury ; and adjusted the conditions of subjection, and the rules of administration to be observed by their lieutenants in the conquered provinces.

In the first year of Abū Bakr, the first Khalif, the Saracens, animated by the hope of plunder, or of Paradise, in armies of fifteen and twenty thousand men, but generally followed by reinforcements equally

* Sale's Koran, p. 123.

† Ockley, vol. i. passim.

numerous, directed their valour and enthusiasm against the two greatest empires then in the world ; and assailed them respectively in their richest provinces. The Roman Empire of Constantinople, after its European dependencies had been invaded and conquered by the Goths, still possessed invaluable dominions, which might have formed the materials of many powerful monarchies ;—the spacious peninsula of Lesser Asia, encompassed by three seas and rich maritime emporiums, — Syria, including Phœnicia and Palestine, with its fertile vallies and splendid cities, raised or adorned by the magnificence of the Seleucidæ,—Egypt still abounding with an immense population, and the granary of surrounding nations,—together with the long *sleeve of the Mantle*, as it was called, extending along the shore of Assyria, from Egypt to the Atlantic, and including the once renowned dominions of Cyrene and Carthage. The imperial country of Mesopotamia, in the largest sense of the word, comprehending the whole of the territory between the Euphrates and Tigris, (which had been the seat of Assyrian power, and which has boasted successively of Nineveh, Babylon, Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and Bagdad, the greatest capitals of the world,) had, after the downfall of Alexander's empire, been the doubtful frontier between the Romans and Parthians for upwards of three centuries, and afterwards became the debateable ground between the Roman emperors of Constantinople, and the Persians of the house of Sassan. In the decline of the former, the Persians had overleaped that boundary ; they were undisputed masters of Babylon, or Irac Arabi, with all the magnificence of its gorgeous capital, called Modain, or the two cities, because it united Seleucia and Ctesiphon ; which, on opposite sides of the Tigris, had formed in immediate succession the bulwarks of Macedonian and Parthian power. From Irac and Modain the dominion of Yezdegerd, the last sovereign of the house of Sassan, extended to the North and East, over Media, Persis, Persia Proper, Khorasan, comprehending the

Asia Margiana and Bactria of the ancients, and all the inferior provinces of central Asia to the confines of Tartary and India.

Had the Saracens been guided more by policy than by enthusiasm, they would have maintained peace with one of those mighty powers, until they had inflicted mortal wounds on the other. But simultaneous irruptions were made into Syria and Irac: after a fierce warfare in both, the force of Syria was first broken in the plain of Aiznadin, near Damascus, by Kālid, with numbers far inferior to the seventy thousand Greeks, Romans, and Syrians who fought against him. A second victory on the banks of the Yermouk, an obscure river which falls into the lake of Tiberias, decided the fortune of the war. Heraclius, the Greek emperor, who had not been present in either action, terrified by dreams and omens, fled secretly to the sea shore and embarked for Constantinople. Jerusalem, Damascus, and Antioch, together with all the other Syrian cities, were conquered by the force of the Moslems, or by their own terrors: the inhabitants either acknowledged the divine authority of the Koran, submitted to pay tribute, or suffered confiscation and death. The resources, acquired by these victorious campaigns in one of the richest countries of Asia, facilitated the progress of conquest. The Saracens had penetrated the Syrian gates, entered within the confines of the peninsula of Lesser Asia, and extended their desolating arms to Taurus in Cilicia. The possession of harbours gave them the command of fleets; they rode masters of the Mediterranean, and captured, in succession, the islands of Cyprus, Rhodes, the Cyclades, and other celebrated isles of Greece.* Their success in the West was rivalled and outshone by their eastern triumphs. The sceptre of the great king was then in the feeble hands of the boy Yezdegerd; who committed the defence of his dominions to Rustan, a general, whose conspicuous name had been borne by an ancient hero,

* Al Wakidi, and other Arabian authors cited by Ockley, vol. i.

the Hercules of Persia. Under Abū Mūsa, Saïd, and others of Omar's captains, the Arabs had made incursions into Babylonia, and had returned to the western bank of the Euphrates loaded with plunder. Their camp was pitched at Cadesia, a place two stations west of the modern Cūfa, and an hundred miles south-west of the ancient Babylon, on the very margin of the Syrian desert; whose contiguous gloom imparted, through contrast, additional life and beauty to the palms and bubbling fountains of Cadesia. To this place the standard of the great king, committed to Rustan, was accompanied by an hundred and twenty thousand men; the greater part of whom being hastily levied in the eastern provinces, deserved not to be honoured with the name of soldiers. The Arabs prepared for action, after sending messengers to recall their roving parties, who, at convenient distances, hovered over the wealth and weakness of Assyria. During the desultory combat which ensued, and which, by flying skirmishes and single combats, was prolonged for several days, their numbers were augmented by reinforcements from fourteen to thirty thousand. In the rear of his unwieldy host, reclining in the cool breeze under his shadowy pavilion, amidst the opulose accommodation of luxury, and trains of mules laden with silver and gold, Rustan the Persian general,—so unworthy of the name he bore, and of the office with which he was entrusted,—was alarmed by the clang of arms and the approaching tumult. He started from his silken couch, not to encounter the enemy, but to betake himself to a shameful flight. His horse was interrupted by an alert and fierce Arab, who caught Rustan by the foot, struck off his head, hoisted it on a spear, and carrying it into the still disputed part of the field, completed the consternation and despair of the flying Persians.

Dreadful must have been the havoc of the vanquished, since the Saracens confessed a loss of more than seven thousand warriors. The destruction of the enemy opened a way for the victors across the rivers

and canals of Babylonia. Shortly after the battle, the Arabs under Said crossed the Tigris without opposition, assailed and took the imperial city Ctesiphon, or Modain, which contained the residence, the arsenal, and the treasures of the great king. The Arabs were at once masters of riches surpassing their fondest hopes. Their booty in money was computed at three thousand millions of pieces of gold, a sum of accumulation ascending in the scale of numbers a whole step above the denomination, to which debts of extraordinary profusion have familiarised English ears. The arsenals of Modain furnished instruments for new victories : the rich furniture, the precious *sindones* or hangings, the carpets flowered and embroidered, above all, the gorgeous wardrobe of the great king, formed objects neither of admiration nor use to a simple and warlike people, who had learned that gold, and all it can purchase, may be speedily acquired by iron. This unparalleled wealth, though attested by original and authentic writers,* has been brought into suspicion and doubt, by the criticism of that class of modern historians, who, moulding their own sentiments on the narrow prejudices of their readers and the fashion of the times, are always unwilling to admit what their contemporaries or themselves have not seen or experienced; and who, incredulous to all besides, have no faith to bestow but on the deductions of their own reasonings, which are often the illusions of their own sophistry. Such writers, always too prone to substitute conjectures in the stead of facts, would have been less indulgent to this propensity on the present occasion, if they had considered that the territory of Modain had, from the age of Ninus and Semiramis, continued immemorably the seat of empire; and that in it were concentrated the accumulated treasures of the successive capitals of Nineveh, Babylon, Seleucia, and Ctesiphon. Of the wealth of Modain itself, a fifth part was, according to the Mahometan institutions, consecrated to the public

* Abulfeda, Elmacin, &c.

service ; but a considerable proportion of the remainder must have been transferred to Bassora and Cūfa, or Coufa,* cities founded by the Arabs on the western side of the Euphrates, almost immediately after their conquest of Babylonia ; and which continued to be the seat of their jurisdiction over all the southern provinces of the Persian empire, till they were eclipsed by the dignity and power of Bagdad, the establishment and royal seat of the Abassides.

Yezdegerd, meanwhile, joined an army collected in the East to defend the vast region of Khorasan, comprehending the Asia Margiana and Bactria of the ancients, and famous in modern times under the Tartar kings, for the four royal residences of Neisabour, Herat, Marū, and Balkh.† The Arabs pursued his footsteps thither ; several battles were fought, particularly the bloody engagement of *Gialoulah* ; after which Chorasan submitted to the arms of the invaders, and Yezdegerd, swiftly escaping across the river Gihon, or Oxus, craved assistance in Bucharria from Tarchon the Turk. But the new ally was, through the pride, it is said, of Yezdegerd, speedily converted into an enemy ; and the last Persian king of the house of Sassan experienced a similar fate to that of Darius Codomannus, the last of the Achæmenidæ. Precisely in the same country, after being defeated by his barbarian allies, he was pursued and slain by his treacherous servant Maheva, as Darius had been by Bessus.‡ The spirit of the Medes and Persians, however, was not yet totally subdued. Their last effort was made to preserve the fine country of Media, the largest and most populous of their ancient *Satrapies*. The Arabs, under Nomman and Hedaijah, met them there in the neighbourhood of the renowned Nisaen pastures ; and the battle of Nehauend, begun by Nomman, who fell during the action, was successfully terminated by Hedaijah. This battle is called

* See the article Coufa, in D'Herbelot, vol. i. p. 550. 4to. edit.

† Abulfeda.

‡ Confer Abulpharagius Dynast. p. 116, and Arrian Exped. Alexand. l. iii. c. 21.

the victory of victories: no further resistance was made by the central nations of Asia, from Tarsus in Cilicia to the confines of India;—all accepted the religion of Islām, or submitted to become tributaries.

Persia was reduced under the Khilāfat of Othman; Syria, a few years before, under that of Omar. From Syria, Amrū, the lieutenant of Omar, invaded Egypt (A. D. 638), the most valuable province belonging to the Greek emperors, and then the chief granary of Constantinople, as it had formerly been of Rome. This country, though it had declined from its renown under the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies, was still amply provided with resources for defence. Its cities were solidly constructed; they were fortified with strong walls, which might easily be encompassed with water: their Greek defenders were numerous, and animated with unusual zeal for maintaining possessions in which they enjoyed many exclusive advantages, and from which they derived vast riches. But all this exterior shew of health and vigour was fatally gangrened within. The Greeks were, for the most part, Melechites, that is, royal and orthodox Christians, holding the same creed with the emperor. The Copts, or native inhabitants of Egypt, were Jacobites, that is, heretics, denying the *distinction* of natures in the person of Christ.* Through the voluntary submission of the Copts, who preferred foreign invaders to domestic oppressors, the Arabs made an easy progress through an intricate country: they were resisted one month at Pharmah, or Pelusea, seven months at Misrah, or Memphis, and fourteen at Alexandria, the chief bulwark of the kingdom. After the taking of this city, into which the Greeks had fled from all quarters to escape the fury of the Saracens, exasperated by the vengeance of the Egyptian heretics, Amrū wrote to Omar, that he had conquered the great city of the West, containing four thousand palaces, four thousand baths, four hundred theatres or places of public amusement, and twelve thousand

* Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. pp. 145, 146. 8vo. edit.

shops for the sale of vegetable food ; and, as the place had been gained by assault, he wished to know whether the Moslems were to be gratified with the spoil.* The Khalif, in his answer, censured Amrū for once mentioning the name of spoil. The fruits of so valuable a conquest ought to be consecrated to the propagation of the faith, and the exigencies of the public service ; no waste was to be committed ; and the future tribute to be levied on the country, computed at six millions sterling, might also be carefully treasured up at Alexandria, to reward the labours and supply the wants of the faithful.†

The Arabs had now trampled on the nations of the East, that were most renowned in history. Persia, with its provinces, was subdued ; and at the expense of the Greek empire, they had acquired Syria and Egypt. Had their sole object been wealth or power, they ought here to have paused ; since their dominion, extending over the countries best provided with the resources of war or peace, terminated on one side with the Oxus, and the confines of inhospitable Scythia ; and on the other side, with the mountains to the west of the Nile, separating the rich valley of Egypt from the sandy deserts of Lybia. Having subdued the delightful regions of Southern Asia, abounding in whatever can gratify the senses or please the fancy, their conquests thus brought them to rugged wilds and dreary solitudes, inhabited by fierce Nomadic nations, whose valour was their principal wealth ; and whose patient endurance of toil and hardships was their only virtue. To the views of human policy, a warfare with such nations presented much to lose, and scarcely any thing to gain. But the Saracens, under the influence of a two-fold enthusiasm—religious and military—saw no bounds to their ambitious zeal ; while there remained an infidel to convert by the sword to the religion of their prophet. At the eastern extremities of their

* Eutychius Annal. vol. ii. p. 296—322. Conf. Ockley, vol. i. p. 301, et seq.

† Theophanius Chronograph. p. 280, et seq.

empire, Bactria, a division of Khorasan, was separated by the Oxus from Sogdia, part of the modern Bucharica. Under the ancient Greek appellations, both of those countries had been visited by Alexander the Great, and were observed by him with the eye of a statesman, rather than of a conqueror. He passed the Oxus, and over-ran Sogdia, which lies between this river and the Jaxartes. The latter, and more northern of those streams, he established as his boundary with the fierce Scythians; and the districts on its banks were, in this view, bridled with garrisons and fortified by strong holds: but in another view, as commanding the courses of great rivers, particularly of the Oxus, which long after his time* flowed into the Caspian Sea, Bactria and Sogdia were adorned by cities and temples, as well as enriched by staples of trade and stations of caravans. Under the first Syrian successors of Alexander, the trade of India was connected with that of the Mediterranean, principally through this great inland channel; until, an hundred and twenty years before Christ, the Greek kings of Sogdia and Bactria were swept away by a desolating invasion of the Scythians. This event, attested by the combined authority of the Grecian and Chinese annals,† doubtless produced many mournful effects: but the several staples of trade, inhabited by Greeks, and by such of the natives as conformed to their manners and complied with their institutions, still continued to subsist, and to carry on commerce under the protection of the shepherds of the desert. These emporiums of Sogdia were surrounded by a double fortification, the outermost of which enclosed gardens, fields, and rich pastures. Such were Alexandria or Cagent, Chorasmia or Carisme, Moraimda or Samarcand, at the time when the resistless spirit of the Arabs spurned the boundary of the Oxus. But many inroads were made, and many battles fought between the Arabs and the

* Till A. D. 1640.

† Confer Strabo, l. xi. p. 745, 746 (ed. Oxon.) and De Guigne's *Mémoire sur La Bactriane*.

branch of Scythians called Turks, before Sogdia, (which was then included under the more general name of Transoxiana, the country north of the Oxus) was finally subdued by Katibah, the camel-driver, lieutenant to the Khalif Walid.* By him the idolatrous temples, with their idols, were levelled in the dust, a mosque was erected in Chorasmia, and the inhabitants of the other cities were either converted to the Koran, or put to the sword, or the vanquished subjected to an annual contribution.

The same impetuous spirit, which carried the Arabs towards the wilds of Tartary, made them fearlessly plunge into the sandy ocean of Africa. That ever barbarous quarter of the world is thrown over the two great divisions of Lybia and Ethiopia, that is, of Barbary and Soudan, by the intermediate Sahara, a large belt of sand, extending a thousand miles in breadth across the whole continent which it deforms. The northern of these divisions, stretching along the Mediterranean, from the Atlantic to Egypt, had anciently comprehended the kingdoms of Mauritania and Numidia, together with the dominions of Carthage, a Phenician colony, and with those of Cyrene, a colony of the Greeks. All these possessions had been over-run, conquered, and usurped by the Romans. On the decline of the Roman empire in the West, they had been invaded and desolated by the Vandals. From those unworthy masters they had been wrested by Belisarius, the general of Justinian; and, when the Arabs marched against them, they still acknowledged the authority of the Roman emperors of Constantinople. If the Mahometans had been guided in their enterprises merely by worldly motives, it might have been a powerful incitement to dispossess their Grecian enemies of the southern shores of the Mediterranean. With their manners and pursuits, the acquisition also of the vast inland plains offered to them by no means a con-

* Confer Elmacin Hist. Saracen. p. 84, and De Guigne's Hist. des Huns, vol. i.

temptible prize. The nature of the soil and climate was entirely similar to that of the greater part of Arabia. The inhabitants, Moors or Barbars, led the same kind of life with that of the Badoweens. Their tents and camels were continually in motion; and by means of the various Oases, or islands, which chequered the sandy Sahara, they carried on a distant traffic with the natives of Ethiopia, or Soudan.* The Lybians and Ethiopians had, indeed, been immemorially connected through the urgency of mutual wants. Ethiopia produced ivory, ebony, gems, and gold in great abundance; but was so greatly deficient in salt, that this necessary article could only be procured by penetrating deeply into the desert Sahara, to those salt springs forming innumerable granulous hillocks of salt, interspersed, as it were, at convenient distances through its whole longitude. Thither the Ethiopians came with their easily transportable, because highly precious, commodities, and met, in a manner, mid-way, the Lybian caravans; which, returning towards the sea coast of the Mediterranean, disposed of their valuable merchandise at an immense profit.† Similar commercial expeditions had been familiar to the Arabs from the earliest times; but, since the age of their prophet, the propagation of their religion formed the great, or rather the sole incentive to all their undertakings.

Such was the avowed motive of the Khalif Othman, when he sent from Medina to Egypt, and from Egypt into Africa, Abdallah the son of Said, the boldest horseman of Arabia. When reinforced in Egypt, Abdallah was at the head of forty thousand fanatics, to whom the deserts of Marmaria and Barca, so formidable to the Roman legions, presented no terrors. They penetrated‡ above nine hundred miles victoriously to Tripoli, then a rich and populous sea-port; and which, under its ancient Greek name, still holds, after Tunis and Algiers, the

* Herodot. l. iii. c. 114, et seq. (ed. Oxon.) Conf. descrip. de la Negritie.

† Herodot. *ibid.* Conf. Bruce's Travels, vol. i. p. 382. ‡ A.D. 647.

third place among the Barbary states. From the siege and assault of this place, the Moslems were diverted by hearing, that Gregory, the imperial prefect, had taken the field with an army of 120,000 men, Greeks, Moors, or Lybians.* Abdallah encountered and totally defeated this disorderly host, a remnant of which flying to Sofatala, involved in ruin that wealthy city, still recognisable at the distance of 150 miles to the south of Carthage, by temples, aqueducts, and other remains of Roman magnificence. Abdallah's victory was followed by the ready submission of all around him. Many adopted the faith of Islām, and all who refused it consented to pay tribute: but the Moslems, exhausted by fatigue and an epidemic disease, after an expedition of fifteen months, returned into Egypt with abundance of booty indeed, but without gaining any fast hold of their African conquests.

The disputed succession of Ali to Othman, (A. D. 665-709) and the internal dissensions, which naturally follow in the train of great external prosperity, suspended above twenty years the western trophies of the Saracens. During that interval the ministers of the Greek emperor Constantine, surnamed Pogonatus, or the Bearded, with a policy equally absurd and flagitious, imposed new taxes on their African subjects, by way of compensation or fine for the tribute, which these unhappy men had consented to pay to the Khalifs.† Under such a tyrannical government, little resistance was to be expected, when Acbah, lieutenant to the Khalif Moawiyah, marched at the head of ten thousand of the bravest Arabs, reinforced by the fears and discontents of innumerable Africans. He traversed the whole continent to Tingi or Tangiers, and the pillars of Hercules; and, after penetrating southward to the margin of the Sahara, and again returning to the sea-shore opposite to the Canary Isles, he then madly plunged his horse into the waves of the Atlantic, exclaiming with fanatical transport, “were not my progress stopped

* Theophanes Chronograph. p. 280.

† Theophanes, p. 285.

by this sea, I would still, Great God ! advance to the unknown regions of the west, preaching the unity of thy holy name, and destroying the idolatrous nations which worship other Gods than thee." *

The impetuous enthusiasm of Acbah might have been construed into magnanimity, had his boldness been supported by prudence. With a handful of Arabs he had performed such wonderful exploits as continually attracted to his standard crowds of discontented Greeks and infuriated Africans. But he was too incautious of guarding against the perfidy of the one, or the levity of the other. Of the general mutiny just ready to explode, Acbah was apprised by an Arabian chief, who had seditiously disputed with him the command, and was then suffering in irons the punishment of his unsuccessful ambition. Acbah released him from captivity ; when, instead of retiring to the insurgents who had confided in his resentment, he determined to die by the side of his rival. They fought with the zeal of martyrdom, and with the ardour of revived friendship, and were overwhelmed by resistless numbers among the last of their fallen countrymen.

Zuhair, the third Mahometan commander in Africa, revenged on the natives the fate of his predecessor Acbah : but the gratification of passion rather than any solid conquest, was the fruit of this expedition against them ; and, in his design upon the Greek dependencies on the sea coast, he was totally defeated by a powerful armament which Justinian II. sent to the relief of Carthage.

At length, domestic discord being extinguished by the ascendancy of the house of Moawiyah, Abdulmalik, the sixth of the Ommiades, undertook the subjugation of Africa upon a sounder plan, and with far superior resources.† The royal standard was committed to Hasan, governor of Egypt, and the revenues of that great province were consecrated exclusively to the service. In the first wars of the Saracens there

* Novairi apud. Otter. p. 119. † Abulpharagius, Elmacin, Abulfeda.

was little room for the talents of the engineer ; during them, we seldom find those military engines, the *helepolis*, battering ram, or catapult, which make such a distinguished figure in the martial operations of the Greeks and Romans. To provoke a sally, to lie in an ambush, to surprise by an assault, to invest a city by armed men rather than by lines or walls, and patiently to await the effects of discontent or famine,—these were the only arts which the Saracens had long exercised for conquering the strong holds of their enemies. But the subjugation of nations, more improved than themselves in the mechanism of warfare, gradually invested their warlike souls with arms and instruments. Hasan marched from Egypt at the head of forty thousand men, furnished with implements calculated for sudden assault, and with others equally well adapted for regular sieges. In the year 698, Carthage, still the proud capital of Africa, was laid in the dust, notwithstanding powerful succours had from Justinian II. Emperor of Constantinople and Egiza the Gothic king of Spain ; who was anxious to obstruct the Saracen torrent before it should break in fiercely on his own shores.* The smoking ruins of Carthage opened the gates of the African sea-ports from Tripoli to Tangiers. But the Moors or Barbarians of the inland country had assembled in hostile array under Cahina, whom they acknowledged for their queen, and even revered as a prophetess. With an enthusiasm equal to their own, and with far superior numbers, she set bounds to the Arabian invaders ; and while Hasan retired in expectation of reinforcement from Egypt, Queen Cahina adopted a mode of defence well adapted to her own character, and that of her barbarous followers. “ Our cities ” said she, “ the gold and precious things which they contain, have attracted the cupidity of the Arabs : let us demolish these cities, let us bury our treasures in their ruins,—by disappointing the avarice we shall stop the progress of our foes.” The first operations of

* Leo Africanus, folio 72.

the Moors corresponded with the fury of Cahina : many populous cities were destroyed and the fertile gardens around them were converted into deserts.* But such frantic passions are not calculated to last. The Moors bewailed the devastation made by their own hands. Hasan returned ; the prophetess was slain in the first encounter ; and, when the same enthusiastic madness revived under Mūsa, who had been appointed to relieve Hasan in the command, it was resisted and for ever stifled by the prudence and energy which were combined in that chief. Three hundred thousand *invulnerable* Africans are said to have been dragged by him into captivity ; while the bravest and most docile of the Barbarian youth were enlisted in the service of his master the Khalif Walid, who had just succeeded to Abdulmalik. The success which Mūsa's skill as a general had acquired, his talents as a preacher confirmed. He discovered the utmost diligence in diffusing the doctrine of the Koran and the rites of the Mahometan faith. A superstition, indeed, originating in Arabia, might be expected easily to gain ground in Africa : not only the aspect of the country, the climate and other physical circumstances, are the same : but the pursuits and occupations of the Moors have always been much akin with those of the Arabs, whether like the Badoweens they remained contented with their old pastoral life ; or, whether they improved it like the inhabitants of Hijāz and Yaman, by the labours of agriculture, and in the exercise of that kind of commerce which is carried on by caravans. The best and noblest of their foundations in Africa was the city of Cairoan, which name denotes the station of a caravan : it stands above fifty miles to the south of Tunis, in a plain destitute of all vegetable food, and whose only supply of water is rain, collected and carefully preserved in cisterns. Yet in such a situation, Cairoan, founded by Acbah, of whom we have before spoken, gradually acquired a numerous population,

* The Arabian histories above cited.

and great opulence. Among its ornamental edifices there was a spacious mosque supported by five hundred columns of granite, porphyry, and Numidian marble. Such was the influence of the rich commerce above described, carried on through central Africa. Cairoan, in a desert, rose the Palmyra of Lybia.*

The activity shewn by Mūsa in propagating the Mahometan religion excited the rivalry of his successors. In less than fifty years after his invasion and conquests, the Khalif Abū-l-Abbās, first of the Abassides, was informed by Abdurrahmān, then lieutenant in Africa, that the tribute imposed on the infidels under his government had totally ceased through their unanimous adoption of the faith of Islām. The light of Christianity, which had once shone so brightly along the southern shore of the Mediterranean, was extinguished ; and the Moors, while they adopted the religion, conformed gradually to the language and manners of their conquerors, boasting even an Arabian descent as their highest glory. The assistance afforded by the Goths in the defence of Carthage might have provoked the invasion of Spain. The state of that kingdom also formed a strong temptation to such an enterprise. The Gothic King Egiza had been succeeded by Witiza : and the children of Witiza, educated on the steps of the throne, had been deprived of the prize that seemed to await them, by the elevation of Roderic, the son of a provincial governor. As the throne was properly elective, Eba and his younger brother dissembled their resentment ; and under the guidance of their uncle Oppas, archbishop of Toledo and Seville, pretended the greatest zeal for the service of king Roderic, whom, in their hearts, they reprobated as an usurper.† To co-operate with this animosity in the great, a secret and most virulent enemy lurked in the bosom of the kingdom. From the earliest times, Jews mixed with Phœnicians had transported them-

* Conf. Shaw's Travels, p. 115. Ockley, v. i. p. 129.

† Cardonne Hist. de l'Afrique, &c. sous les Arabes, tom. i. p. 55, et seq.

selves to the coasts of Spain. A great emigration happened of both nations, to escape the resistless invasion and desolating fury of Nebuchadnezzar. In the wide interval between that Assyrian king and Hadrian the Roman emperor, many adherents to the Mosaic law had exchanged the poverty or oppression, which they suffered in the East, to join their distant brethren in Spain; which country abounding in gold and silver, formed the Mexico and Peru of antiquity. Thither the Emperor Hadrian transported no less than forty thousand families of the tribe of Judah, and ten thousand of the tribe of Benjamin.* The activity, industry, and parsimony of the Jews have always proved highly favourable to the rearing of families and the accumulation of riches. Both their population and their wealth had augmented in Spain to a very extraordinary degree: but, during the last period of its Gothic kings, the vexations inflicted on them had also increased in a still higher proportion. In the reign of Sisebut, ninety thousand Jews were subjected to a compulsory baptism: and the convocation of Spanish clergy had established it as a law, that such as had once received that initial rite should be compelled to the future observance of all those external forms and ceremonies, which were then numbered among the essentials of Christianity. To enforce statutes of such enormous tyranny, modes of proceeding equally enormous were invented, and seven hundred years before the establishment of the tribunal of the dire inquisition, an inquisitorial persecution had been adopted and systematically exercised against the unhappy Jews.†

Such was in Spain the preparation of materials, which the smallest spark was ready to throw into combustion. In the lapse of two centuries and a half, the Gothic conquerors of that country no longer resembled the fierce soldiers of Alaric; who had invaded Italy, sacked Rome, and marched victorious from the shores of Scandinavia to those

* Basnage Histoire des Juifs, tom. vii. c. 9.

† Ibid, tom. viii. c. 13.

of the Atlantic. By a consequence, inevitable among barbarians carried along in too buoyant a tide of prosperity, they had, without divesting themselves of their primitive rudeness, adopted all the false refinements of the vanquished ; and passed at one fatal bound, from the innocence of poverty and ignorance, to the pollutions of wealth and luxury. The youth neglected the exercise of arms, the walls of their cities were allowed to moulder in decay : ostentatious parade, effeminate luxury, and amorous intrigue, were matters of pursuit and celebrity among the dukes and counts of Spain : and in these disgraceful avocations, King Roderic himself outvied all his nobility ; * his vices disgraced and contaminated the throne which he filled ; and his subsequent conduct affords an additional evidence, that the debaucheries of tyrants, in almost every instance, prove to be the real or the ostensible cause of their ruin.†

* Mariana de Rebus Hispaniæ, l. vi. c. 8. et seq.

† Florian, Précis Historique sur les Maures, p. 22.

THE HISTORY
OF THE
MAHOMETAN EMPIRE IN SPAIN, &c.

PART I.

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PART I.

The following narrative relates the history of the Mahometan Empire in Spain, from the first invasion of the country by the Arabs, in the year 711, to the death of the last Caliph, in the year 1031. It is divided into three books. The first book contains the history of the conquest of Spain, and the establishment of the Mahometan Empire. The second book contains the history of the reign of the first Caliph, Abd al Rahman I. The third book contains the history of the reign of the second Caliph, Abd al Rahman II.

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CHAPTER I.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHORS, FROM WHOSE WORKS THE HISTORY OF THE MAHOMETAN EMPIRE IN SPAIN HAS BEEN SELECTED; TOGETHER WITH OBSERVATIONS ON THE HISTORY OF THE ARABS PREVIOUSLY TO THE CONQUEST.

THE following notices relative to the history of the Arabs in Spain, as well as the subsequent account of Cordova,* when the seat of government of that people in the West, are selected and translated from a copious work written in Arabic, by Ahmad, son of Mahomet, son of Ahmad, surnamed Almukry, a native of Tilimsān in Africa, and entitled *Nafhu-t-Tīb fī Tārīkhi Ghusni-l-Andalusa-r-ratīb*. In the preface to his work, the author intimates, that, after quitting his native place, where he had grown up and had been educated, he settled first at Fez; whence, towards the end of the month Ramazān, in the year 1027† of the Hijra, he removed to Cairo. After a short stay at the latter place, he undertook the pilgrimage to the two sacred cities (Mecca and Medina), where he arrived at the commencement of the

* See Chapter V. Sect. I. *infra*, for the account of the celebrated city of Cordova.

† September or October, A. C. 1618.

month Dhū-l-Kaada in the following year, and he returned to Cairo in the month Muharram of 1029. In the month Rabīa of this year, he set out to visit the holy house (Jerusalem), whence he returned to Cairo; and, after returning to the same place from the completion of his fifth pilgrimage in the month Safar of the year 1037, he revisited Jerusalem in Rajab of the same year; from which city he proceeded by the tomb of Abraham to Damascus, where he arrived about the end of Shaabān in 1037. In his conversations with the learned men of this city, he engaged their attention so much by his accounts of Spain, and most especially by what he related of the performances of Lisānuddīn Abū Abdillāh Assalmāny, usually called Ibnu-l-Khatīb, who had been vizir to Muhammad, son of Abu-l-Hajjāj, sultan of Granada, that he was at length prevailed upon by Ahmad Effendi Ashshāhīny, to write the history of that eminent man; who seems to have been truly worthy of the historian's attention, not only on account of his official compositions as minister, but also for his history of Granada, as well as for various other literary productions.* This work the author mentions that he completed in the year of the Hijra 1039.†

After a brief narration of the reasons above alluded to, which induced him to undertake the task on his return to Cairo, and of the difficulties which, in a strange land, he had to surmount in the execution of it, owing chiefly to the want of such books as he had been obliged to leave at Fez, the author premises, that the work will consist of two parts: of these, the first part will comprise a short history of Spain, arranged in eight chapters: chapter the first, will relate to the geography, topography, and natural history of the country; chapter the second, to the conquest of Spain by the Arabs; chapter the third, to their victories and dominion in it, from the accession of Abdurrahmān Addākhil,‡ till the land became divided into various petty sovereignties;

* Ibnu-l-Khatib was born in the year 713 of the Hijra, and assassinated in prison in 776. Some account of his works may be found *infra*, Part II. Chap. II. Sect. I.

† A. C. 1630.

‡ The first Abdurrahmān is distinguished by this appellation, which means "the enterer."

chapter the fourth contains a description of Cordova, and of the principal buildings in it, when that city was the metropolis of the Mahometan empire in Spain; in chapter the fifth, is given a short biography and some mention of the works of certain natives of Spain, who left that country and settled in the East; chapter the sixth records certain eminent men who passed from the East into Spain; chapter the seventh relates to the acuteness of genius and the excellent disposition to science with which it pleased God to bless the people of Spain; and in chapter the eighth, is described the subjection of the country to the infidel* enemy, by the cunning and perfidy which he adopted to accomplish it. The second part of the work is in a similar manner subdivided into eight books; in which the ancestors of Lisānuddīn Ibnu-l-Khatīb are first treated of; next, his ascent in life and in power, his administration as vizir, his good fortune and subsequent adversity are recounted; in the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth books, his doctrinal, political, poetical, and scientific productions are noticed; in the seventh, his disciples are mentioned; and, the eighth relates to his children and to the instructions he gave them.

In the composition of the first part, the author makes use of the most approved Arabic historians on the affairs of Spain; and gives their various accounts of such events, as are differently recorded by them. From this part, but especially from the first, second, third, fourth, and eighth books, the following history has chiefly been selected: and, of the historians and biographers, whom the author has consulted or noticed, the most conspicuous will now be mentioned, with such particulars respecting their lives and writings, as the translator has yet been able to collect.

Ahmadu-bn Muhammadi-bn Mūsa Abū Bakr Arrāzy derived his origin from the city of Rai in Persia, as the patronymic ar-Rāzy common to many besides him denotes;† but, notwithstanding this, he may have been a native, as well as an inhabitant, of Spain. Of his life,

* The Christian king, or Christians generally of Spain.

† So that the historian Rāzy, here mentioned, must not be confounded with the celebrated physician, Abū Bakr Muhammadu-bn Zakarīa ar-Rāzy, who died in the year 311 of the Hijra; or

scarcely any account has been obtained : he appears, however, to have flourished towards the end of the fourth century of the Hijra and the beginning of the fifth. The works ascribed to him are, a very copious history of Spain, a description of Cordova, similar to that of Baghdad composed by Ahmadu-bn Abī Tāhir, and the genealogy of the illustrious men of Spain in five large volumes, besides other historical productions.

Isa-bn Ahmadi-bn Muhammad Arrāzy, said to be a grandson of the historian above-mentioned, wrote the annals of the vizirs of sovereigns in Spain. Neither his work, however, has occurred to the translator, nor any further information respecting him.

Abū-l-Walīd Abdullāhi-bn Muhammadi-bn Yūsufi-bn Nasr Alazdy, commonly called Ibnu-l-Farazy, was a native of Cordova, highly conversant in the sacred traditions, as well as in ethics and history. Besides works on various other subjects, he wrote the lives of the learned of Spain, also the history of the poets of that country, and a critical work on history. This author was born in the month Dhū-l-Kaada of the year 351 of the Hijra ; obtained the dignity of Cādhy of the city of Valencia ; and was killed at Cordova by the Barbarians, at the capture of that city on the sixth of the month Shavwāl, in the year 403.*

Abū Umar Yūsufu-bn Abdillāhi-bn Muhammadi-bn Abdilbarr, usually called Ibn Abdilbarr, was born at Cordova, on Friday the twenty-fifth of the latter Rabīa, in the year 368 of the Hijra, and became Cādhy of Lisbon and Santarem, under Muzaffaru-bnu-l-Aftas, king of Badajos ; afterwards, however, he quitted the west of Spain, resided at Denia, Xativa, and Valencia, and died at Xativa, on Friday the last day

with the Imām Fakhru-d-Dīn ar-Rāzy a renowned divine, philosopher, and philologist, whose writings and disciples were very numerous, and who died at Harāt, in the year 606 of the Hijra ; or with Abū-l-Fath Sulaimān ar-Rāzy, a divine and author of high repute, who resided at Tyre, but who was drowned in the Red Sea on his return from the sacred pilgrimage to Mecca, in the year 447 of the Hijra. Casiri, moreover, has shewn, that the work in Spanish attributed to Arrāzy, must be a forgery : and though this author is frequently referred to by following historians, as undoubted authority, yet his real works seem not to be known in Europe, except by the passages which others have extracted from them.

* On or about the 20th April, A. C. 1013.

of the latter Rabīa, in 463 of the Hijra.* He was the Hāfiz (recorder or relater of the sacred traditions) of the West, a man of great learning and character, and the author of the *Kitābu-l-Kasd wa-l-Amam fī Maarifati Akhbāri-l-Arab wa-l-Ajam* (book of research and investigation in the science of the history of the Arabs and Barbarians), as well as of various other productions on history, divinity, ethics, &c.

Abū Muhammad Aliyu-bn Ahmadi-bn Saaīdi-bn Hazm, commonly called Ibn Hazm, was of Persian origin, but born at Cordova, on Wednesday the last day of Ramazān, in the year 384 of the Hijra. His learning was most extensive; and his writings on various subjects, both in prose and in verse, were so multitudinous, that, after his decease, his son is said to have collected four hundred volumes of them, comprising about eighty thousand leaves. Amongst these, he wrote a treatise on the difference of religions; a disclosure of the alterations made by the Jews and the Christians in the Law and the Gospel, with an explanation of the difference between the doctrines held by them, and those which the originals import, no one before him having treated this question in a similar way;—a work on approximation to the perfection of logic, with an introduction to it in the language of the vulgar and the relations of divines, in the prosecution of which, the author pursues a track none had ventured before, as well as in clearing himself from suspicions and in refuting his calumniators; and a small, though truly valuable work, entitled, *Nukatu-l-Arus*, being a history of the Khalifs; besides numerous other treatises on history, theology, and the like. Of this author, Ibn Bashkuval says, that he was the most versed of all the people of Spain in the sciences of Islāmism, at the same time possessing a vast acquaintance with language, and an abundant portion of eloquence, poetic genius, and historical information. His attacks, however, on the learned who had preceded him, of whom he suffered none to escape, drew on him the enmity of his contemporaries to such a degree, that though he inherited by birth a high station in his native country, having succeeded his father in the rank and office of vizir, they persuaded both prince and people to reject his

* On or about the 3d February, 1071, A. C.

society. Thus excommunicated and forced to quit his native place, the metropolis, this extraordinary genius and voluminous author retired to the forest of Labla, or Laila,* and is said to have died there on the twenty-seventh of Shaabān, in the year 456 of the Hijra.† It is, however, otherwise recorded, that he died at Mait Sham, a place belonging to him in the district of Laila.

Abū-l Walīd Ahmādu-bn Abdillūhi-bn Ahmadi-bn Ghālibi-bn Zaidūn Almakhzūmy, was of a family very eminent among the lawyers of Cordova: after he had established his own character in polite literature and poetry, as well as obtained high rank and reuown, he quitted his native city in the year 441 of the Hijra, and settled at Seville with Almuatazadu-bn Abbād, to whom he became a confidential minister, as well as intimate friend. This author, who is truly conspicuous as a poet, historian, and statesman, wrote among other things, a history of the Khalifs of the house of Ummāiyya in Spain, similar to that of Almasāūdy relative to the Khalifs of Asia; he died at Seville in the beginning of the month Rajab of the year 463.‡

Abū Marwān Haiyānu-bn Khalafi-bn Husaini-bn Haiyān, commonly called Ibn Haiyān, an inhabitant of Cordova, wrote the Kitābu-l Muktabis, a history of Spain in ten volumes; also the Kitābu-l Matīn, another copious work on history, in about sixty volumes. This author, who, in the work last noticed, records the occurrences of his own time, stands truly eminent for his knowledge of history, and especially of that of Spain; so that among writers on this subject, he holds the foremost station, his works being not only confided in for their strict veracity, but accounted the most elegant in point of language and arrangement. He was born in the year 377 of the hijra, and died at a very advanced age, on Sunday the 27th of the prior Rabīa in 469.§

Abū Abdillāh Muhammadu-bn Abī Nasr Fatūh Alazdy, usually called Alhumaidy, was born at Minorca || prior to the year 420 of the Hijra;

* Ilipula, or the modern Niebla.

† A. C. 1064.

‡ November, 1070, of Christ.

§ On or about the 30th Oct. 1076.

|| It is, however, doubtful, whether Minorca or Majorca is intended by the biographer, Ibn Khallakān, from whom this account is extracted.

but, his ancestors had been fixed at Cordova, in the suburbs of Arru-sāfat; and he died at Baghdad, where he had settled after visiting many cities of Asia, on the 17th of Dhū-l Hijja, in the year 488* of the Hijra, or in Safar of 491, as otherwise related. Of Ibn Hazm above mentioned, he was a zealous follower; giving to the productions of that author peculiar attention, and frequenting his society; but he also studied under Ibn Abdi-l-Barr, of whom some account has been given: and he became truly eminent for his acquaintance with history, religion, and language, as well as for his generosity, politeness, and moderation. Amongst various other works on different subjects, he wrote the *Jadhwatu-l-Muktabis*, or a history of the learned men of Spain, in one volume.

Abū Nasr Alfathu-bn Muhammadi-bn Ubaidillāhi-bn Khākān Al-kaisy, commonly called Alfath, was the author of many works; and, amongst others, of the *Kalāyidu-l-Ikiyān* (chains of gold), a highly celebrated performance on the characters and poetical productions of certain eminent princes, ministers, and learned men of Spain in the fifth century of the Hijra: he was the author also of the *Mutmahu-l-Anfus wa Masrahu-t-Taannus fī Milhi Ahli-l-Andulas* (the theatre for the mind and the field for acquaintance, in the politeness of the Andalusians), a rare work of great repute, in which he gives the biography of the eminent people mentioned in his former work, as well as of others who lived before their time. Alfath was from Seville; but, the time of his birth the translator has not been able to ascertain: and, at the instigation of the Emīru-l-Mūminīm Abū-l Hasan Aly, to whose brother, the Emīr Abū Ishāc Ibrāhīm, son of Yūsufu-bn Tāsifīn, he had dedicated the *Kalāyidu-l-Ikiyān*, he was murdered at Marocco, perhaps for the preference shewn to Abū Ishāc, about the beginning of the year 529; † or, as otherwise recorded, in 535.

Abū-l Hasan Aliyu-bn Bassām, usually named Ibn Bassām, from Santarem, was the author of a celebrated biographical work, called *Addhakīrat*; and he died in the year 542 ‡ of the Hijra.

* On or about the 19th of December, A. C. 1095. † Beginning on the 22d of June, A. C. 1147.

‡ Which was on the 22d of October, 1134 of Christ.

Abū-l Kāsim Khalafu-bn Abdilmaliki-bn Masaūdi-bn Mūsa-bn Bashkuval, commonly called Ibn Bashkuval, or Pasqual, a native of Cordova, was the author of several valuable works ; amongst others, of the Kitābu-s-Silat, intended as a continuation of Ibnu-l-Farazy's biography of the learned of Spain, before-mentioned, and comprising the records of a great number of eminent men. He also wrote a history of the sovereigns of Spain from the conquest till his own time, with some accounts of Cordova and other places. His birth happened on Monday the third of Dhū-l-Hijja in the year 494 of the Hijra ; and he died on Wednesday the eighth of Ramazān in 578.*

Alkātib Alhāfiz Abū Abdillāh Muhammadu-bnu-l-Abbār, a native of Valencia, commonly called Ibnu-l-Abbar, was a celebrated poet and historian. The work entitled Maādinu-l-Lujain (mines of silver) as well as a continuation of Ibn Bashkuval's Silat are due to this author, who was born about the end of the month Rabīa of the year 598, and who died at Tunis on Tuesday the twentieth of Muharram in the year 658.†

Waliyuddīn Abdurrahmāni-bn Muhammad, commonly called Ibn Khaldūn, wrote the work entitled Dīvānu-l-Abr wa Kitābu-l-Mubtadā wa-l-Khabar fī Tārīkhi-l-Arab wa-l-Ajam wa-l-Barbar (record of observation, and book of intelligence and information on the history of the Arabs, Persians, and Barbarians) in eight very large volumes. His ancestors were from Seville, and had settled at Tunis, where he was born in the year 732 of the Hijra. This eminent man passed part of his life in Spain, a contemporary and friend of Ibnu-l-Khatīb ; but having removed to Egypt, he happened to attend the Sultan of that country, Almaliku-n-Nāsir Faraj in the expedition to Syria against Taimūr ; when, being separated from the Egyptians in their flight, he was fixed on by the chief men of Damascus to conduct their conference with Taimūr respecting the surrender of their city ; and that conqueror became so captivated by his learning and eloquence, as to honour him greatly, and to send him home to Cairo, where he died in 807.‡

* On or about the 5th of January, 1183 of Christ. † On or about the 6th of January, 1260.

‡ Which began July 10th, A. C. 1404.

Besides these, the following works and authors are noticed : namely, the *Kitābu-l-Muzaffary*, a copious history in near fifty volumes by *Muzaffaru-bnu-l-Atas*, king of Badajos and the countries dependent on it ; the author of which work flourished about the middle of the fifth century of the Hijra. The *Hadīkatu-l-Irtiyāh fī wasfī Hakīkati Alwāh* (the bower of entertainment in the description of the truth of records) by the Vizir *Abū-l-Faraj*. The history of the famous men who travelled from Spain and who continued in it, by *Ibn Faraj*. The history of the house of *Abbād* by *Abū Bakri-bni-l-Lubāna* of Denia ; also, the *Sakītu-d-Durar wa Lakītu-z-Zahar* (the fallen pearls and the picked-up flowers) by the same author. A history of the dynasty of *Matūna* by *Ibn Sāhibi-s-Salāt*. A history of the last mentioned dynasty by *Abū Sairafy*, the Granadian. A history of the second civil war in Andalusia, which arose during the year 539, continued till the year 547, by *Abū-l-Hasan* of Medina Celi. A history of Spain from the accession of the first Khalif to the sovereignty of the house of *Abdalmūmin* ; and, concluding in the year 565. An account of learned men, whether Arabs or Barbarians, by *Abū-l-Kāsim Sāid*, the Toledan : and, a general history by the same. An abridgment of the *Tārīkh Tabary* by *Gharību-bn-Sāid* of Cordova ; to which the author subjoined a history of Africa and Spain. The *Kitābu-l-Ibar* (book of remarkable events) by *Ahmadu-bn Saīdi-bn Alfaiyāz*. The *Maāthiru-l-Aāmirīya* (achievements of *Ibn Aby Aāmir*) by *Husainu-bn Aāsim*. The biography of the *Cādhys* of Cordova and of the rest of Spain ; also, the lives of the *Fakīhs* by *Muhammadu-bnu-l-Hārith*. The work of *Kāsimu-bn Asbaa*,* on genealogy, a valuable and comprehensive treatise, though not diffuse : also, a copious work of great repute, on the excellencies of the family of *Ummaiya*, by the same. The work of *Muhammadu-bn Aāsim* on the Secretaries of Spain. The work of *Ibn Saīd* on a similar subject to that last mentioned. The history of Physicians in Spain by *Sulaimānu-bn Juljul*. The *Simtu-l-Jumān wa Sakītu-l-Marjan*, being an account of eminent men continued till the seventh century of the Hijra, by *Abū Amrū Othmānū-bn Aliyi-bn Othmāni-bni-l-Imām*, a native of Seville,

* Or Asbagh.

usually called Ibnu-l-Imām. The work on the poets of the west, entitled *Almutrib min Ashaār Ahli-l-Maghrab*, by the Hāfiz Abū-l-Khattāb Ibn Dihya. The work of Abū Bakri-bnu-l-Husain Muhammadu-z-Zubaidy on the biography of grammarians and lexicographers in Asia and Spain. The history in metrical language of Yahya-bnu-l-Ghazzal; whose son, Abū Tālibu-l-Mutanabby composed, in like manner, the history, from which Ibn Bassām has extracted in the *Addhakīrat*; which latter is a kind of continuation of the *Hadāyik* of Ibn Faraj. A continuation of Ibn Imām's work, before mentioned, by Ibn Idrīs the Murcian, entitled *Zādu-l-Musāfir* (provision for the traveller). The work of Abū Muhammad Abdullahi-bn Ibrāhīm Alhijāzy, entitled *Almashab*, on the excellencies of the west; composed after the *Addhakīrat* and the *Kalāyid*, and containing the history of Spain from the time when that country was first peopled, to the author's own time: in this work, besides biography, the subject of the two books last named, the author gives a geographical description of Spain, together with its productions and its history, no work of equal merit having been before published in Spain: Abdulmaliki-bn Saīd, therefore, preferred and continued it; but, his two sons, Ahmad and Muhammad; afterwards Mūsa son of Muhammad, and lastly Aly son of Mūsa, formed continuations of it; so that, between these six authors it was one hundred and fifteen years in completing, being brought down to the year 645. And, the works of Ibnu-l Khatīb, whose productions it was the principal design of the author here translated to commemorate, and of whom some notice has already been taken.

Among the nations of the earth, as far as their history is now known in Europe, two people are peculiarly distinguished for the propagation of science and of arts. That these benefits to society, however, originated with the one or the other of them cannot be asserted; for, science and the arts seem generally to have descended from a more eastern source. The colonists that passed over from Asia to Greece were not devoid of such acquirements; and they sought to accommodate what they brought with them, as well as what was afterwards introduced, to the climate and country in which they had settled. The barbarous

nations, that inhabited still farther to the west, by degrees obtained an acquaintance with the improvements of the Greeks; and ignorantly admired the latter as the original inventors. Hence, the enthusiasm with which every thing Grecian has been revered by the rest of Europe, and the exclusive dominion which the doctrine of Greece has universally obtained over the learned in this quarter of the globe. To Asiatics, however, but few of the western innovations and discoveries ever became known and acceptable; till the Arabs, an active and ingenious race of men, having acquired the most extensive empire which history now informs us of, not only seized with avidity the useful arts of the Greeks, and communicated them to the rude nations of Europe, as well as to much of Asia and Africa, but sought out, adopted, and disseminated in like manner, the no less beneficial inventions of the primeval philosophers of the east.*

* That the Hindūs excelled in science at the most remote past ages, of which any memorial remains relative to them, is evident from the earliest records of both eastern and western history: and, as the religion which those people strictly observe in this particular, forbids their departure under any pretence from their own country, there appears not a probability that they could ever, since that religion has prevailed among them, seek or obtain instruction from foreigners. On the other hand, it is generally understood that Pythagoras, one of the most ancient of the Grecian philosophers, travelled to India in search of knowledge; and he may have been followed, if not preceded, by other western sages in the like creditable pursuit. Even at the birth of the founder of Christianity, the wise men of the *east*, not of the *west*, are described as led by heaven in a miraculous manner to the infant: and, though we are not informed of what eastern nation these sages were, yet the passage of the evangelist may be fairly understood as denoting a high degree of respect for oriental science at the very time when Grecian and Roman literature was most improved and cultivated. If, however, the mere classical scholar can be so far blinded by prejudice, as to startle at the praise here given to the Arabs, alike with the Greeks, for the dissemination and promotion of science, coinciding in opinion rather with a venturous writer in a modern periodical work,† who hesitates not, among other indiscriminate censure, to assert of the Arabs that “the literature, the manners, the arts of that people, were at no period of their history other than those of semi-barbarians, and the praises which have been bestowed on them are the exaggerations of those, who having learned their language and studied their literature, conceived a fond partiality for that which it concerned them to represent as a great distinction and advantage to know. At no period did their literature in any of its branches surpass, in few of them did it equal, that of

† See page 244 of No. 45 of the Edinburgh Review.

Of the ancient people of Arabia, the names Tasm, Judais Aad, Thamud and Jarhum are still recorded in history; but those people becoming extinct, the descendants of Kahtān (called in the English translation of the bible Joktan) gained possession of Yaman, as the posterity of Adnān did of Hijāz.* Adnān claims his descent from Ishmael, who is said to have married into the tribe of Jarhum; and

“the Europeans during the middle or semi-barbarous ages,” yet it is hazardous to decide in any disputed case from partial evidence merely: and, if such limited scholars would deign to acquire as full an acquaintance with the writings of the Arabs as with those of the Greeks, Romans, and modern Europeans, perhaps they too would become infected with “a fond partiality” for what they might then think it “a great advantage” if not “a distinction” to know. To ascribe, however, the fond partiality, which those who have learned the language and studied the literature of the Arabs, conceive for them, to the motives insinuated by the invidious reviewer, will not do credit to the liberality or discernment of any one: if Arabic literature has such charms for those who take the trouble of gaining an acquaintance with it, as is certainly the case, what better proof can be adduced of its intrinsic excellence? and vain or selfish motives might with more reason have been supposed to exist in the Grecian scholars, who possess and seek to retain all the literary patronage and honours of the European states, than in the insulated Arabic student, who has no such benefits to aspire to. It is, moreover, difficult to discover how the limits of barbarism, semi-barbarism, and refinement without alloy, if the latter can be asserted by the most partial to have really existed in any people, are to be correctly ascertained. With the Greek, all mankind are divided into Greeks and Barbarians; and the Arabs have like terms of general distinction; but neither the mere Greek, the mere Arabic, nor the mere Hindū scholar, is qualified to judge impartially of the manners and literary acquirements of others, when placed in competition with those, in favour of which he is by education wholly prejudiced. If, however, we pay regard to the reception which the language, writings, and laws of any particular people have obtained from others, as a test of their excellence, those of the Arabs will be found to have the advantage: the Arabic language and characters of writing are more used on the face of the earth than those of any other people: works in the various classes of polite literature have been more numerously composed in the Arabic than perhaps in any other dialect, ancient or modern: and, no adequate idea of the literature and refinement of the Arabs can be derived from the trifling portion of their writings, which, for the most part ill-selected and ill-translated, have been very faintly sketched out in European dialects. By general expressions, uttered with confidence and assumption of authority, like the quotation above made, the ignorant may be deluded; but to the well-informed, who examine particulars and require proofs of every assertion, specious words, void of the solidity of argument, serve only to betray a want of intelligence in the user of them, or a design to mislead.

* The ancient grand division of the peninsula of Arabia is into Yaman and Hijāz, corresponding to the Arabia Felix and the Arabia Petræa of the Romans: but that extensive region is frequently divided into other provinces, especially by later writers.

this race is accounted *Mustaarab* (pretenders to the name Arab) only, whilst the sons of *Kahtān* glory in being alone the genuine Arabians.

The modern Arabs, whether those who refer their lineage to *Kahtān*, or those who trace their genealogy to *Adnān*, are alike divided into various tribes, too numerous to be here recounted: and the history of this people before the time of their lawgiver, *Muhammad*, is but little known. *Yaarab* son of *Kahtān* is said by some to have been the first sovereign in *Yaman*, and to have been the first speaker of the Arabic language: but according to others, it was *Sabā* son of *Yashhab*, son of *Yaarab*, with whom regal power commenced in that country; and *Himyar*, the most valorous of men, who succeeded his father *Sabā*, was the first of the kings of *Yaman* who placed a tiara on his head.

After the reigns of many sovereigns in *Yaman*, who are distinguished by the general appellation of *Dhū'ul-Haiāt*, the names even of but very few of which are now recorded, that country was invaded and subdued by the Abyssinians, who under three successive princes ruled it during seventy-two years. *Saifu-bn Dhī Yazn*, or as some say, *Maadī Karib*, then took the government of the land; but, after him, *Anūshervān* king of Persia, obtained the dominion of *Yaman*; and it continued under the sway of the Persians, till after the promulgation of Islamism.

From the people of *Yaman* a dynasty of seventy-three princes reigned during the space of six hundred and eighteen years in Syria. This family is called by the Arabs *Jafanat*, but the Greeks named it after *Ghassān*, the place where it was first settled. And another dynasty of *Yamānians* reigned with considerable splendour at *Hīra* in Mesopotamia, till *Annumānu-bnu-l-Mundhir*, the last of the princes of *Hīra*, was slain by the Persians.

The splendour of the family of *Adnān*, whose princes are contradistinguished from those of *Kahtān* by the term *Dhū'ul-Ghāyāt*, shone not forth till the time of *Muhammad*. Through him, however, who was of that race, it shared the glory of prophecy as well as owned the dignity of *Khalif*: and the dominion of this family, vast as it became, continued till the end of the sixth century of the *Hijra*.

The division of the Arabs into numerous tribes, rendered them, like

the Greeks who were separated into many small states, highly ambitious of contributing to the renown of their respective peculiar people, as well as of obtaining credit for themselves individually. Possessing one common dialect, the various families inhabiting the Arabian peninsula, from similar motives with the independent republics of Greece, rivalled each other in the cultivation and use of language. This was a path of excellence open to all: and they who sought the esteem of others, and influence over their fellows, hastened to tread it. Sensible of this, the Arabian legislator delivered his precepts in such elegance of diction, that the Korān is regarded by his followers as of itself, on this account, affording the most satisfactory evidence of his divine mission: and when the religious charm, which he knew how to spread over the severed members of his people, had united them in one body, they not only subdued the neighbouring and many distant nations of the earth, but greedily seized the arts and sciences of others, and succeeded in making great improvements as well as important discoveries. The Arabian sovereigns were generally enlightened men, and literature became the best introduction to their courts. The doctrines of India and of Greece were shortly transposed into the Arabic language; and through that language the first knowledge of them was conveyed to the modern nations of Europe; who were till then immersed, and without the light thus imparted by the Arabs, would probably have continued immersed, in the gross darkness of unqualified barbarism.

The first Muhammadan sovereigns, indeed, were too fully occupied in the establishment and extension of their religion, to afford much effectual aid to the advancement of literature; yet in the early years of Islamism, the vagrant offspring of the Arabian deserts had magnanimity and refinement enough to found some of the greatest cities in the world. During the reign of Omar were built Basra and Cūfa in Irak, and Fustāt in Egypt, which continued the capital of that country from the year 20 of the Hijra, till the increase of its buildings and the change of its name to Cāhira in 360. Under the Khalifs who shortly succeeded Omar, were raised Cairūān in Africa, Wāsīt and Baghdād in Irāk, besides splendid mosques in every part of the Musulmān dominions.

Alī, the son-in-law and the fourth successor of Muhammad, held literature in high esteem, and was himself an author, if the apothegms usually ascribed to him were actually of his composing. "The learning of a man," says he, "is more valuable than his gold:" "the ornament of man is erudition:" "eminence in science is the highest of honours:" "to the dominion of science there is no end:" "to gain knowledge is the highest acquisition of the faithful:" "he dies not who gives life to science." But though he is said to have caused the first grammar of the Arabic language to be formed,* yet the short reign of this great man was too much disturbed by civil war to allow him the opportunity of promoting literature effectually, however much he might have been disposed to befriend it.

Under the house of Ummaiyya, which fixed the imperial seat at Damascus, the polite arts, especially architecture and the use of language, whether in verse or in prose, met with great encouragement. At the commencement of the year 106 of the Hijra, Abdulmalik, son of Marwān, began the building of the dome over the sacred rock, and of the great mosque at Jerusalem, that the people might be led to substitute the pilgrimage to Jerusalem for that to Mecca, and that they might be diverted from visiting the latter place, lest they should be induced to espouse the cause of his rival, Ibn Zubair, who resided there, and who disputed with him at that time the sovereignty of the Moslems.†

* Abū-l-Aswad Zālīm Addūlī wrote the first Arabic grammar; and it is said, that the task was undertaken at the instance of Alī, from whom Zālīm received much instruction on the subject; such as, among other particulars, the division of language into noun, verb, and particle. It is, however, otherwise said, that Zālīm was tutor to the children of Ziyād, governor of Irāk; and, that perceiving the adulteration of the language of the Arabians from the admixture of foreigners with them, he obtained permission of Ziyād to execute this task.

† Of the magnificence of these structures some idea may be collected from the following description, with which an Arabic historian has supplied us. "Abdulmalik is said to have expended "the revenues of Egypt for seven years on the building of the dome and the mosque, and to have "committed the execution of the undertaking to Abū-l-Mikdām Rajā Alkandī, a very learned "man; with whom, however, was associated in the direction of the business, Yazīd, son of "Sallām, a native of Jerusalem, and two sons of the latter. On the completion of these edifices,

Alwalīd, son of Abdulmalik, equalled, if he did not surpass his father in building. He raised the great mosque of Damascus, the floor of which was white marble, the walls of which were covered with

“ Rajā and Yazīd informed the Khalif, that of the money appropriated to this purpose, one hundred thousand dinars were still remaining unexpended ; and that they waited for his commands how to dispose of it: they were, in consequence, ordered to melt down the gold and to use it in adorning the dome. When this order was executed, the beholder, dazzled with the splendor of the precious metal, as well as astonished at the magnificence of the structure, was unable to survey it ; and the erection of the dome and mosque was finished in the year 73 of the Hijra, The quantity of wood expended on the roof, exclusive of the wooden pillars, was six thousand trees. The number of doors amounted to fifty. That of chains hanging from columns to five hundred and eighty-five ; of which there were two hundred and thirty in the mosque, and the rest were in the dome : the length of the chains was four thousand cubits, and their weight was forty-three thousand Syrian pounds. The number of lamps used in the edifice was five thousand ; but to these were added two thousand wax tapers on Friday nights, as well as on the nights of half Rajab, of Shaabān, and of Rāmazān, and on the nights of the two festivals (A'īd). The domes, exclusive of that over the rock, amounted to fifteen. On the roof of the mosque were used seven thousand seven hundred pieces of tin,* each piece weighing seventy Syrian pounds, besides what was expended on the dome over the rock. The number of ministers versed in reading the sacred book was three hundred ; of which, when any one died, the son, or son's son, or some relative succeeded to his place ; and this privilege was continued as long as any of the family remained. Of large cisterns, or reservoirs of water, the number was twenty-four. The minarets (towers from which the people were called to prayer) were four ; of which, three were on the west of the mosque, in one line, and one was over the gate of the Asbāt (tribes of Israel). Of Jews, ten, each with his successor, making in all twenty, were exempt from the tax, and employed as servants to sweep the place and to cleanse the vessels used about the temple in lustrations : and of Christians, ten, whose offices passed in like manner from father to son, were employed in the charge of the court of the mosque, and in keeping it clean, as well as in cleansing the aqueducts to the fountains and the like : but there was, moreover, a multitude of Jews employed as servants in the care of the glass, the lamps, the cups, the chandeliers, &c. as well as in the trimming of the lamps, all of whom were exempt from tribute, and their appointments descended to their posterity. The length of the mosque is recorded to have been seven hundred and fifty-five cubits, and the breadth four hundred and sixty-five cubits. In the days of Abdulmalik, its doors were covered with plates of gold and silver ; but these precious ornaments, as well as the gold used in ornamenting the dome, as above-mentioned, were removed not long afterwards, and expended in re-building some parts of the edifice, which earthquakes had subverted.”

* The word here translated *tin*, is sometimes rendered *lead*.

mosaic, and the roof of which, erected without wood, was covered with gold. This mosque had three minarets; of which, the one at the extremity of it was adorned from top to bottom with gold and mosaic. Three years revenues of his empire Alwalīd is said to have expended on this edifice. He built, moreover, the great mosque at Medina, the great mosque at Misr (the ancient capital of Egypt), and he dug the wells of Medina and Mecca.

Abdulmalik died in the year 86 of the Hijra, and Alwalīd in 96. Almansūr, of the house of Alabbās, repaired the mosque of Jerusalem, which had suffered from earthquake; but it was again injured by the like cause during the reign of his son Almuḥdī. The latter coming to visit it, in company with his secretary Abū Abdillāh Alashkarī, passed through Damascus; and, on surveying the temple there, he exclaimed, "O Abū Abdillāh, the sons of Ummaiya excelled us:" the secretary replied, "Commander of the Faithful, in what?" Almuḥdī answered, "In this house (meaning the temple); on the face of the earth I know nothing like it." When, however, they came to Jerusalem and entered the sacred place there, the Khalīf cried out, "Abū Abdillāh, this is four times as magnificent."

An anecdote given by Ibn Khallakān in the life of Hammād Arrāwiyah, may serve to impart some idea of the devotedness of the Khalīfs of the house of Ummaiya to the muses. Hammād was the most conversant of men in the history, the poetry, the genealogy, and the language of the Arabs: for which reason the princes of this family invited him to their society, honoured him with their esteem, and loaded him with their favours. One day, the Khalīf Alwalīd, son of Yazīd, in his assembly of learned men, such as Arabian princes gloried to collect and to retain around them, said to Hammād, "How do you substantiate your right to the name of Arrāwiyah (the narrator), which is usually given you?" He replied, "because I can relate, Commander of the Faithful, the works of every poet with which you are acquainted, or have heard of: I can, moreover, relate the works of those poets with which you are not acquainted and have not heard of; and no one can repeat to me a poem, whether ancient or modern, but I can tell to

“ which of the two classes it belongs.” The Khalif then asked, “ What
“ number of poems do you retain in mind ?” He said, “ a great many ;
“ but I will undertake to repeat to you, for every letter of the alphabet,
“ one hundred poems of the larger description, besides small pieces, all
“ made before the introduction of Mahometanism, independent of such
“ poetry as has been formed since that era.” The Khalif said, “ I will
“ prove you in this matter :” Hammād then related, till the Khalif
being tired, appointed some others to hear him ; and, when Alwalīd
was informed that he had actually repeated two thousand nine hun-
dred odes of the poetry anterior to Mahometanism, he ordered one
hundred thousand dirhems to be given to him. Hammād, also, speaking
of himself, says, “ being excluded from the royal presence during the
“ reign of Yazīd, son of Abdulmalik, his brother Hishām treated me ill
“ on this account : when, therefore, after the death of Yazīd, Hishām
“ came to the throne, I remained in my own house for the space of a
“ year, through fear of him ; going out, however, to none but secretly,
“ to such relations as I could trust. Finding that no mention was made
“ of me during this time, I at length took courage to go forth to divine
“ service in Arrusāfat, on a friday ; when, lo, two officers approached
“ me and said, ‘ Hammād, you must come to the Emir, Yūsuf ubn
“ Omar,’ the then governor of Irāk. Terrified at this message, I said,
“ ‘ Can you permit me to go to my family and bid them farewell, as one
“ that never expects to see them again ?’ The officers replied, ‘ that is
“ not possible.’ I then came before Yūsuf, who was in the red palace ;
“ and, after he had returned my salutation, he threw to me a letter, the
“ contents of which were, “ In the name of God the merciful, the for-
“ giving. From Abdullāh Hishām, Commander of the Faithful, to
“ Yūsuf ubn Omar. As soon as thou readest this, my letter, send some
“ one to bring Hammād Arrāwiyah, without terrifying him, to thee,
“ and deliver to him five hundred dinars, with a high bred camel, on
“ which he will come in twelve nights to Damascus.” As soon as I
“ had received the money, lo, a camel fitted out for travelling was at
“ hand, by which I reached Damascus on the twelfth night ; and, hav-
“ ing alighted at Hishām’s gate, I obtained permission to approach

“ him. The apartment which I entered to the Khalif was large, and
 “ the floor was of marble, having a line of gold between every two
 “ blocks. Here Hishām was seated on a red carpet, and clothed in
 “ robes of red silk that dripped with musk and amber. After returning
 “ my salutation, he desired me to come near, which I did, when two
 “ damsels, such as I had never beheld before, in whose ears were rings
 “ set with pearls of great value, appeared. He then enquired after my
 “ health, and said, ‘ that he had sent for me on account of a verse which
 “ had recurred in his mind, but of which he did not know the author.’
 “ After hearing it, I both told him the name of the poet, and recited
 “ the ode from which it is taken. Ready to spring up with joy, the
 “ Khalif exclaimed, ‘ Well done, Hammād ; ask what thou wilt !’ I
 “ said, ‘ Whatever it may be ?’ He replied, ‘ Yes.’ I then said, ‘ One
 “ of these damsels.’ He answered, ‘ They are both thine, with their
 “ ‘ apparel, and whatever belongs to them.’ ” The Khalif, then, enter-
 tained Hammād in his own mansion till the morrow, when he trans-
 ferred him to a house prepared for his reception ; in which were the
 two damsels and every thing necessary to his comfort : and after keeping
 him near himself a considerable time, the Khalif caused one hundred
 thousand dirhems to be presented to him.

Encouragement thus given to literature, shews the refinement of the
 Arabians under the dynasty of Ummayya. Poets of the first class, such
 as Almakhzūmī, who died in the year 93 of the Hijra ; Jarīr, who died
 in 111 ; Alfarazdak, who died about the same time ; Dhū-r-Rumma,
 who died in 117, flourished in this period : and, Abu-l-Aswad Zālim
 Addūlī, who is said to have followed the advice of the Khalif Alī in
 the undertaking, seems to have performed the arduous task of fixing
 rules for the stupendous language of the Arabs, during the dominion
 of this house in Asia.

To the dynasty of Ummayya succeeded that of Alabbās, in the year
 132 of the Hijra. Enlightened and magnificent as their predecessors
 and rivals in empire had been, the Khalifs of the house of Alabbās be-
 came in many respects still more illustrious. Abū Jaafar Almansūr,
 who succeeded to the sovereignty in 137, his grandson, Hārūn Arrashīd,

and his great grandson Almāmūn, shine on the expanse of history, as fixed stars of the first magnitude, for their attention to literature and to the polite arts. By the first mentioned of these sovereigns the city of Baghdad was built: and, during the term of eighty years, reckoning from the accession of Almansūr to the Khilāfat, till the death of Almāmūn, the progress of literature was more rapid than it had ever been known before. Of philologists, by whom the rules of Arabic grammar were finally determined, we may mention the elder Alakhfash, Isa-bn Omar, who corrected, augmented, and arranged the original work of Abu-l Aswad, Abū Amrū-bnu-l Alā, Alkhalīl Alfarāhīdī, who fixed the rules of prosody, Wāsil-ubn Ata, Yūnas ibn Habīb, Sībawaih, Alkasāī, Alyazīdī, Alakhfash the medial, Alfarrā, Alasmāī, Abū Obaidah, Ibnu-l Aarābī, Kutrub, Ibn Shumail, and Hishāmu-bn Muāviah: of poets, Marvān-ubn Abī Hafsah, Yazīd-ubn Attatharīa, Alattābī, Hammād Ajrad, Abū Nawās, Alyamāmī; Alutbi, and Abū Tamām. Into the Arabian language, fixed and polished by such authors, the philosophy and sciences of all other people, with which the Arabs became acquainted, were speedily translated.

On bursting from the sterile regions of their undisputed peninsula, where nature and habit conspired to render them comparatively as generous as their vaunted steeds, the Arabians spread themselves with the rapidity of a deluge over many fruitful countries, in which the people were too much enfeebled by luxury, despotism, and superstition, to repel the attack. Here, however, though they entered as unqualified conquerors, instigated by fanaticism, yet neither in civil nor in religious matters, did they oppress the subdued. On the payment of a light poll-tax towards the maintenance of the state, the Jew or Christian was as completely protected in his life, property, and religion, as the most scrupulous Moslem: and if particular treaties had been concluded, they were in all cases strictly observed: for, in direct opposition to the evasive conduct of a Christian monarch * hereafter described, both the tenets of Mahometanism and the honour of an Arab, admit not of a dereliction of faith, whatever specious arguments may be urged in its

* The conqueror of Granada.

excuse. To this enlightened policy, which bigotry and ignorance excluded from most other people, the Arabs added the improvements in arts, which they had collected from the surrounding nations, and which their own sagacity could devise: so that, extensive as was their empire on the face of the earth, and it was the most extensive of which history furnishes any record, the benefits imparted to others from the industry and genius of the Arabs, are still more unlimited, and more to be wondered at, than was the prevalence of their arms.

The peninsula of Spain had been conquered whilst the house of Ummayya possessed the supreme dignity of Khalif; and when the sovereignty in Asia was wrested from that family, Spain welcomed a fugitive member of it, and gladly received him as her lord. Contracted as the dominions of the house of Ummayya now became, in comparison with that which it had once enjoyed, or with what the rival house of Alabbās possessed; yet it proved itself by no means inferior to its former greatness, or to that of the Khalifs of Baghdad, in the promotion of literature and the encouragement of the arts. Such empassioned admirers, indeed, were the Arabian princes generally of science, that their courts became the choicest abodes of the muses, both in the east and in the west; and, through the liberal aid of those princes, foreigners as well as natives attained the summit of elegance in various arts. Like Baghdad, Cordova soon became one of the greatest cities of the globe, to which strangers flocked from every side for information and for wealth: whilst the agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of Spain, as well as of the other Arabian dominions, were so wisely encouraged and protected, as to enrich the states beyond all preceding examples which history affords.

It would be difficult to determine fully how much the modern nations of Europe stand indebted to the Arabs for the introduction of the sciences and of the arts, so great and numerous are the actual obligations. Through them first came the mathematics; the medicine and astronomy of the Greeks; the Indian cyphers, with the use of them, as well as the science of algebra; chemistry; poetry, at least the measure and rhyme of the modern European versification; the manufacture of paper, and probably that of gunpowder, as well as the mariner's compass:

besides inventions and improvements in almost every liberal science, and in most of the useful arts.

The decline of the Arabian dominion in Spain seems to have been occasioned rather by the connection with Africa than by the enmity of the Christians. Ibn Abī Aamir, who interrupted the established and prosperous sway of the family of Ummaiya, succeeded in his ambitious designs through the support of a powerful army of Barbars, which he collected from Africa to keep in subjection the people of Spain. The power thus usurped continued, indeed, but a short time in his family ; yet the bond of empire which he broke could never be re-united. After him, the chiefs of the Barbars and the most powerful of the Arabs, soon began to assume to themselves independent sovereignty in various parts of the country. Aliyu-bn Hamūd, a distinguished officer in the army of the Barbars, having got possession of Cordova in the year 407 of the Hijra, introduced an army of Negros into Spain, to over-awe both the Barbars and the Arabs. Thus divided and oppressed, the people became incapable of repelling the very Christians, over whom they had so often triumphed : and, to assist them in their distress, they solicited the aid of an African prince, Yūsufu-bn Tāsifīn ; who did, indeed, vanquish the Christians ; but who afterwards seized the greatest part of Spain. And the strength of the Arabs kept rapidly decreasing, under the domination of Africans, or of various native chieftains who surrendered their fortresses to the common enemy, for the purpose of obtaining his aid in destroying each other, till the residue, though united, were no longer able to resist the force of their inveterate enemy.

In some important particulars, these records will be found to differ from the accounts given by the Christian historians of Spain : but such disagreement need not invalidate the reader's confidence in the correctness of the Arabian authors. These were witnesses of the events they commemorate, or they resided among those to whom the relations and memorials of such events must have been familiar ; and their writings are conspicuous for the preference they display of veracity over

every other consideration: but the authorities of the former are almost universally the partial representations of churchmen; or, where these fail, in some cases the annals of the Arabs ill translated, and in others mere traditionary tales. The justice of the first of these remarks on the Christian historians of Spain must be at once evident from an inspection of Mariana's publication, and it is still too glaring in the later work of Cardonne: the dates of events according to the Christian *Æra* are very incorrectly given by both these authors: the two first leaders of the Arabs in the invasion of Spain, Tarīf and Tārik, are confounded by Mariana, being mentioned by him as one person only: and in his account of the descendants of Mahomet, from whom he derives erroneously the two great families of Ummaiya and Alabbās,* which successively ruled over the Moslems in Asia, scarcely a glimpse of truth appears.†

To obviate, if possible, any misrepresentation of the original, the translation is made as nearly word for word as the difference of idiom would permit: and the translator has taken the liberty of omitting many passages both in verse and in prose, which are not easy of explanation to a mere European scholar, or which are not distinguished by any peculiar interest. Further, instead of a strict adherence to the author's division of his history into books, according to the particular subjects of discussion, as before noticed, the narration is here arranged agreeable to the order of events in point of time.

* See Mariana's History of Spain, book the 7th, chap. 5.

† Casiri, in his *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis*, has given literal translations of some interesting extracts from various Arabian historians of Spain; and he is, perhaps, the only European author hitherto, whose information relative to the Arabs in this quarter of the globe, ought to be relied on.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONQUEST OF SPAIN BY THE ARABS, AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COUNTRY BY EMIRS, DEPENDENT ON THE KHALIFS OF SYRIA, OR THEIR GOVERNORS OF AFRICA.

Arrival of Mūsa in Egypt or Africa—Accession of Roderic the Goth to the Throne of Spain—He seduces the Daughter of Count Julian, who persuades Mūsa to make an Incursion into Spain—Success of his Enterprise—Spain invaded by Tāriku-bn Ziyād—Conspiracy against Roderic—Battle between the Goths and Arabs—Further successes of Tārik—Capture of Cordova—Progress of the Arabs—Account of the celebrated Table of Toledo—Siege and Capture of Seville—Disputes between Mūsa and Tārik—They are reconciled—Ambitious Projects of Mūsa—Abdulaziz, Governor of Spain—His Successors—The Christians assemble under Pelagius.

IN the year 88 of the Hijra, according to Ibn Haiyān, the Khalif Alwalīd, son of Abdulmalik, committed the government of Africa, with its dependencies, to Mūsa son of Nasir, an adherent of his uncle Abdulaziz; when Mūsa set forth from Syria with a small force only under his command: but on his arrival in Egypt, or as it is otherwise related, in Africa, he collected an army from the military there; and giving his servant Tārik * charge of his van, he prosecuted the war with the Barbarians till he reached Tangiers, the capital of their country. This city, which had not before been subdued, he besieged and took; when

* Tārik, son of Ziyād, according to some, or son of Amrū, as related by others. He is said to have governed Tangiers after the conquest of that city. Ibn Bashkuval relates that he was more eloquent than can be described; and his knowledge of government, the same historian remarks, was sufficiently proved by his conquest and rule of Spain till the arrival of his superior, Mūsa.

the inhabitants embraced the Mahometan religion: but it is said that Tangiers revolted against Mūsa, after having once surrendered. Mūsa laid siege also to Cēta; here, however, owing to the good management of its wise and brave governor, Julian the Christian, he failed in his design: and when he sought to subdue it by famine, for which purpose he formed the blockade of the place, King Ghitisha,* then on the throne of Spain, supplied it so well with necessaries as to frustrate his attempt.

On the death of this monarch, Roderic, a brave and warlike chieftain, having more influence in the state than the children of Ghitisha, procured them to be set aside from the succession without either war or violence; and, after some commotion, the people elected Roderic for their sovereign. At that time the capital of the country was Toledo; in which city was a house that had been shut up for ages, and forbidden to be opened. To secure the observance of this prohibition, a number of locks were placed on it by people of trust among the Goths; it being the custom with them, whenever a king was crowned, for the guardians of this house to ask of him a lock, which they hung on it, without removing any of those before applied to the like purpose. On the accession of Roderic, however, to the throne, who was by nature suspicious and inquisitive, he not only refused to grant the lock solicited of him, but expressed his determination to open the house and discover what it might conceal. In vain was he forewarned, that all the kings before him had abstained from such an attempt, and prohibited it; he went himself to the house, caused the locks to be removed in spite of the remonstrances and intreaties of his nobles, and entered the sacred place. But what was his disappointment, when, instead of a house full of treasure, which he had expected, he found only one chest locked up! this, however, he still flattered himself, must contain something extremely valuable; and, causing it to be opened without delay, he discovered in it nothing but a scroll, on which was the likeness of an Arab equipped for battle, and an inscription intimating, that when the locks of that house should be removed, the chest opened, and the figure on the scroll

* Apparently intended for the Witiza or Uvitiza of the Spaniards.

exposed, a people resembling that figure would enter Spain, subdue, and possess it. On reading this, Roderic was greatly troubled: and, having commanded the locks to be replaced, he committed the house again to the charge of its guardians, entered on the government of his kingdom, and soon became unmindful of the admonition he had received on this occasion.

Among the nobles and chiefs of the Barbarians* in Spain, it was customary for them to send their children to the residence of the King at Toledo, that they might be employed in his service, be habituated to the polished manners of his court, and obtain his patronage. When grown up, the sovereign would marry them to one another, agreeably to the dignity of their parents, give them suitable portions, and celebrate their nuptials. In compliance with this custom, Julian the governor of Ceuta, conveyed a daughter of his, who was extremely beautiful, to Toledo: when the King beheld her, he was so enamoured of her, that he did not hesitate to obtain by violence the gratification of his passion, when persuasion had failed. With this indignity the lady contrived by a secret letter to acquaint her father; who in his rage exclaimed, "By the faith of the Messiah, I will annihilate his power, and undermine his feet:" and crossing the straits from Ceuta, though in the midst of winter, he hastened to Toledo to the presence of King Roderic; who blamed him for coming at so unseasonable a time, and questioned him as to the cause of his journey. Dissembling his real motive, he pretended that his wife being seriously indisposed, and desiring greatly to see her daughter once more before she died, had entreated him to fetch her;† and that, from his desire to accomplish the wish of his wife, he requested the king to allow him to return immediately, and his daughter to accompany him. This request, so speciously urged, was promptly granted; and, after shewing Julian much favour, the king delivered to him his daughter, trusting that she would

* The Arabs designate all people different from themselves by a term justly answering to the word here adopted, as used by the Greeks for the like purpose.

† This account seems more simple and probable than that given by Cardonne. See *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, par M. Cardonne, p. 63.

conceal what had passed, from her father. On his return to Ceuta, Julian delayed not to commence the execution of his revenge : for this purpose, he hastened to the city of Ifrikia to meet the Emir Mūsa, son of Nasīr, to persuade him to invade Spain ; and after the representations which he made of the riches of the peninsula, the temperature of its climate, and the abundance of its useful productions, as well as of the weakness of the Goths, and the internal dissensions prevailing among them, Mūsa became eager to seize such an opportunity as now presented itself ; and formed a treaty of alliance with Julian, by which the latter was bound to join the Moslems, and to second them. But before Mūsa would actually engage in so hazardous an enterprise, he first required of Julian to evince his determined animosity against his countrymen by attacking them himself. To this requisition the Count acceded ; and having collected troops from his own government, and embarked them on board two ships, he made, at the close of the ninetyeth year of the Hijra, a predatory incursion on the coast of Aljazīratu-l-Khazrā.* After staying there a few days, during which he gained much plunder, he returned safely with all his men ; and as the Moslems began to confide in Julian, Mūsa now applied to the Khalif for permission to invade Spain : when Alwalīdu-bn Abdulmalik, the then commander of the faithful, directed him to make an incursion into the country, that he might previously ascertain its actual state ; and not to venture incautiously with the Moslems on the perilous ocean. In consequence of this instruction, Mūsa informed the Khalif that the sea between Africa and Spain was merely a strait, which the eye could reach across, and not a tremendous ocean. Alwalīd then commanded him, if even such were the case, to make previous trial of the country, as before pointed out. Mūsa therefore dispatched a Barbar, one of his officers, named Tarīf, with four hundred foot and one hundred horse, in four vessels : they effected a landing on an island, now called the island of Tarīf, over against Aljazīratu-l-Khazrā ; where he remained some days

* *The verdant island* : and the term seems applicable to either the city of Algesiras or to that extremity of Andalusia, on which Algesiras is situated ; for the Arabs call a peninsula (such as they may have regarded this point) as well as an island, jazīrat.

till all his men had joined him. Afterwards, he made an incursion into the country and obtained much valuable plunder, especially a captive, more beautiful than any whom Mūsa or his people had before seen. This expedition took place in the month Ramazān of the year 91:* and on witnessing its success, the people became eager to enter on the projected invasion.†

At the repeated instigations of Julian, seconded by these fortunate enterprises, Mūsa then commissioned a servant of his, named Tāriku-bn Ziyād,‡ who led the van of his army, to proceed to Spain with seven thousand men; these were chiefly Barbars (or natives of Barbary) and slaves, very few of them being genuine Arabs; they were conveyed over at different times in four vessels, which were provided by Julian, and which passed and repassed till the whole had joined their leader at the rock named after him. Ibn Haiyān dates the landing of Tārik on a Saturday in the month Shaabān of the year 92.§ It is otherwise said, that Tārik disembarked at the rock named after him, on the 5th of Rajab in the same year;¶ that the number embarked amounted to twelve thousand men, less by sixteen, which were almost entirely Barbars; that Julian transported this force at various times to the coast of

* About July A. C. 710.

† It is otherwise said, that Tarīf had one thousand men, and that a Shaikh of the Barbars, named Abū Dhūa, invaded the land after him; yet it is also said that the surname of Tarīf was Abū Dhūa. Arrāzy calls him Abū Zaraa Tarīf, the surname being placed first, contrary to the usual custom.

‡ Ibn Bashkuval, however, calls him Tāriku-bn Omar, or Amru; and he is said by some authors to have been a freeman, a native of Hamadān in Persia, and by others a native of Barbary. But whatever his name or condition might be, he is undoubtedly a different person from the commander of the first expedition, though Mariana, the Spanish historian, describes them as the same; on this point, however, as well as on many others respecting the Arabs, the author last mentioned was evidently so deficient in information, and so blinded by prejudice, as rarely to deserve any credit.

§ The Arabian also mentions the month of August as corresponding to the date here given; but in this there must be a mistake; as Shaabān of the year 92 of the Hijra began about the 24th of May, and consequently ended about the 22d of June, A. C. 711. Cardonne, the French author, however, differently from the best Arabic historians, fixes the date of this descent on Spain, in the year 96 of the Hijra, or 714 of Christ.

¶ About the 29th of April, A. C. 711.

Andalusia in merchant vessels (whence collected is unknown); and that Tārik passed over after his army.*

When Roderic received intelligence of this invasion, and learned that Julian had instigated it, he was in the territory of Pamplona, carrying on a war against the Bascons.† Sensible, however, of the danger that impended from this unexpected attack, he hastened to avert it: and coming to Cordova, he took up his abode in the castle there, which the Arabs called after him the Palace of Roderic,‡ and waited till his troops had assembled from different parts and joined him. As soon as his numerous host was collected, he proceeded towards the district of Shadhūna: § and, on learning the great superiority of the King's army,

* Ibn Bashkuval, however, relates that Tārik landed on the rock named after him, Jabalu-t Tārik (Gibraltar), which the common people call Jabalu-l Fath (Mount of Victory), on Monday the fifth of Rajab of the year 92, with twelve thousand men, wanting twelve; and that this army was almost wholly composed of Barbars, but very few Arabs being amongst them. Ibn Khaldūn, another historian, says that Tārik passed the straits with about three hundred Arabs and ten thousand Barbars, which force he divided into two parts; he himself landing with one division at Jabalu-l Fath, named, in consequence of this event, Jabalu-t Tārik; and Tarīfu-bn Mālik with the other division disembarking at the spot where the city, called Tarifa after him, is situated. These stations the invaders walled round and fortified.

† M. Cardonne represents Roderic as at this time engaged in pleasures rather than in war; and he mentions a battle previous to that in which Roderic fell; but, afterwards, he says that at the battle of Ecija, "the Christians were obliged to yield a second time," intimating that there had been only one battle before. How is this to be reconciled?

‡ This castle, however, was not founded by Roderic; but it is supposed by the natives to have been rebuilt by one of their kings, who resided in the fortress of Almodavar, below Cordova. This king, one day, proceeded in hunting till he came to the spot on which Cordova now stands, but which was then desolate; and where the castle exists, there was an impervious thicket of brambles. Near this place, the king let fly a favourite hawk at a partridge, which descended into the thicket, but which the hawk still continued to pursue. When the king arrived, he commanded the thicket to be opened, for the purpose of delivering his hawk, which was entangled in it: and, on cutting away the underwood, the foundations of a large castle were discovered. As these were of excellent workmanship, he caused an edifice to be built on the same: and as he afterwards frequented it in hunting, and on other occasions, people began to settle near it; so that Cordova originated with this castle, which became the successive inheritance of the princes of the country.

§ This place is called Shadhūna by the Arabs, and resembles Sidonia in sound: though the battle is generally or universally understood by Europeans to have happened near Xeres; and some Arabic authors describe Shadhūna and Xeres as the same.

which is said to have amounted to near one hundred thousand men, completely equipped and prepared, Tārik wrote to Mūsa for assistance, saying, that he had taken Algesīratu-l Khazrā, the port of Andalusia, got possession of the passage into the country, and subdued its districts as far as the lake ; * but that Roderic was advancing against him with a force which he had not the means of resisting. Mūsa, therefore, who had been engaged in preparing ships for the purpose of conveying troops, since Tārik's departure, and had by this time collected a great number, dispatched by them five thousand Moslems,† making with the seven thousand before expedited, according to Ibn Haiyān, twelve thousand men, eager for plunder and anxious to engage with their opponents. To this body, also, were joined the forces of Julian, who guided the Moslems to the passes of the country, as well as gathered intelligence for them.

On the approach of Roderic to meet his enemies, the princes and chiefs of the Barbarians conspiring together said, “ this wretch has by “ force got the dominion over us, to which he is not justly entitled, and “ his conduct gives us reason to suspect his designs against us, whilst “ these invaders do not wish to settle in our country, but their inten- “ tion is to return when they have laden themselves with plunder ; let “ us, therefore, desert the usurper in battle, that these strangers may “ deliver us from him : and when they shall have departed, we can “ place on the throne him to whom it rightly belongs.” In this senti- ment they coincided, and agreed to act accordingly. The sons of Ghitisha,‡ the last king, too, who in hopes of gaining the throne of their father, headed this conspiracy, commanded the right and left wings of the Gothic army : and, previous to the engagement, they made

* By this word, some part of the bay of Cadiz may perhaps be intended ; or the mouth of the Guadalete, or the bay of Puerto de Santa Maria.

† Cardonne says that Mūsa sent a reinforcement of seven thousand men ; but this is disproved by what follows in his work.

‡ This statement differs from Cardonne, who relates, but on what authority is unknown, that the sons of Vitiza had retired to the Gothic possessions in Africa ; and that it was Oppas, arch- bishop of Seville, who joined the invaders on the day of battle.

an offer to Tārik of joining him in the battle ; on condition, that after gaining the victory, he should secure to them all their father's possessions in Spain, amounting to three thousand valuable farms or manors. The reason they urged for this defection was, that Roderic, who was a servant only of their father's and their inferior, had by force deprived them of the power he then possessed. Tārik, of course, did not hesitate to accept these proposals ; and the junction they formed with him, after the battle had commenced, was a principal cause of his success.

According to the historian Arrāzy, the contest between the two armies began on Sunday the last day but two of the month Ramazān, and continued till Sunday the fifth of Shavwāl,* when the Almighty put the idolaters to flight ; and the bones of the slain continued for a long time afterwards to cover the field of battle. Others relate, that when Roderic was informed of the descent of Tārik from the rock (of Gibraltar) he was at war in a distant part ; but that he hastened to oppose the invaders with an army of seventy thousand † men ; bringing at the same time his treasures on waggons, whilst he himself rode on a throne, borne between two beasts of burthen, having a canopy over him set with pearls, rubies, and emeralds. Towards the end of the month Ramazān of the year 92, Tārik fixed his camp near that of Roderic, and the two armies engaged on the Guadalike (perhaps Guadalete) in the district of Shadhūna ; or, as another describes the field of battle, at the lake ; ‡ when they fought resolutely on both sides, till the right and left wings, in

* About the 25th of July, A. C. 711.

† Ibn Khaldūn, however, rates the army of Roderic at forty thousand men only : and he mentions that the conflict happened on the plain of Xeres.

‡ This spot has been thus mentioned before : and most Arabic historians, besides Ibn Khaldūn, fix the battle in the territory of Shadhūna, which word apparently denotes Sidonia : and from this circumstance, as well as from that of Roderic's attempting to cross the river after his defeat, it seems probable that the battle was actually fought in the territory of Medina Sidonia, and not at Xeres : yet the latter place is said to have been called Shadhūna by the Arabs : though, as it is subsequently said that Tārik advanced to the siege of Medina Shadhūna immediately after gaining the battle, and this is said to have been fought at the lake, may it not have been fought at the lake near Bolonia ? and, may not the river, here called the Guadalike, be the small one between Medina Sidonia and Tarifa, and not the Guadalete ?

which were the sons of Ghitisha, fled : but still the centre, with Roderic, stood firm a little while. Being panic struck, however, by some occurrence, Roderic himself with the main body of the army soon took to flight ; and no certain intelligence was afterwards received of him : though his horse, bearing a saddle covered with gold and adorned with rubies, was found by the Moslems plunging in the mud of the river ; and one of his boots, but not the other, was discovered sticking in the mud ; from which circumstances it is conjectured, that he perished in the stream. After the battle, the nobles and great men of the Goths who had fallen, were known by the rings of gold on their fingers ; those of inferior condition by similar ornaments of silver ; and the slaves were distinguished by brass. Of the plunder Tārik deducted one fifth ; and the rest was divided among nine thousand Moslems, besides the servants and followers.

When the people across the straits heard of this success of Tārik, and of the spoils he had acquired, they flocked to him from all quarters, passing the sea on every boat or bark they could find. At this the people of Spain were obliged to quit the plain country, and to betake themselves to their mountains and fortresses. Tārik first advanced against Medīna Shadhūna,* which he besieged and took by force of arms : thence he proceeded to Madhrūr ; † whence he turned to Carmona, and thence to Seville ; the people of the latter place making peace with him on condition of paying tribute. Next, he advanced to Ecija, ‡ and laid siege to it : though the people were strong, and with them was the remnant of Roderic's army ; yet, after a severe battle, in which many of the Moslems were killed or wounded, it pleased God to grant them the victory. No subsequent battle was experienced by the Moslems so severe as this ; yet they valiantly resisted the enemy till Tārik meeting its crafty and perverse governor, who had chanced to go

* Apparently intended for Medina Sidonia ; yet it is not likely that Tārik would have returned thither, if the battle was fought at Xeres.

† Does this place still exist ? and has it another name in Spanish ? The same place is again mentioned in the original. Casiri reads the word Moror ; and asks whether it may not be Moron ?

‡ But Cardonne asserts, that " he (Tārik) marched straight to Ecija," after gaining the battle.

to the river without attendance on some occasion, attacked him in the water; and, discovering in the fight between them who he was, Tārik granted him peace on the favourable terms of paying the usual tribute, which secured to the inhabitants their own laws and property in other respects. When the people of the country perceived how Tārik continued to advance in it, their alarm increased greatly; for they had before imagined, that his object in the attack was only to collect plunder, and that his intention was afterwards to return to Africa: but, actuated by despair, they now abandoned the open country; the more powerful fleeing to Toledo, and the rest betaking themselves to the forts and fortresses in the mountains. Tārik, too, sought to encrease the terror of the Christians, by directing his men to cook the flesh of the slain in presence of the captives, as if it was intended to be eaten; and, afterwards, allowing some to escape, that they might report to their countrymen the ferocious disposition of their terrible foes.

On the submission of Ecija, Tārik dispatched Mughaithu-r Rūmy with seven hundred horse (for the Moslems were by this time all mounted on horses taken from their vanquished opponents) to Cordova: he also sent divisions of his army against Malaga and Granada; but with the chief body of his forces, he himself hastened on towards Toledo.* The division of the army expedited to Cordova, having gained the bank of the river of Shakanda, fixed themselves in a wood of pines, whence sending forth spies, they seized a shepherd, who informed them that the principal people of Cordova had departed to Toledo, but that the commander of the city remained in it with four hundred men of the army, besides the less powerful citizens. This man being further questioned respecting the walls of the city, said that they were strong and high, but that there was a breach in them, which he described. When the darkness of night came on, they, thus prepared, approached the city; and the Almighty facilitated the means of success: for, there happened a fall of hail, which prevented the stepping

* It is however said by some historians, that Tārik led the army against Cordova himself, and not Mughaith.

of the horses from being heard, and the Moslems proceeded gently till they had passed the river, between which and the walls there is a distance of not more than thirty cubits; when they attempted to scale the walls, but were unable. In this difficulty they had again recourse to the shepherd, who led them to the very breach: it was, however, found not to be easy of ascent; but there was a fig tree adjoining, the branches of which afforded the means of mounting; and one of the strongest of the Moslems having by this gained the top of the breach, Mughaith unfolded his turban, and giving this man one end of it, others, one by one, ascended by it, till a considerable number had gained the summit of the wall. They then rushed upon the guard within the city; and, having killed part of it, they broke open the gate, and let in their comrades, who took the place by force. Having thus rapidly obtained possession of the town, Mughaith, with his comrades, hastened to the palace; but the governor had received intelligence of the entry of the Moslems, and had fled, accompanied by his four hundred adherents, to a church in the west part of the city, where he fortified himself; and, as water was conveyed under ground to this church from a spring at the foot of the mountains, the besieged maintained themselves in it for the space of three months. It happened however, that a black man of the Moslem army was taken prisoner by the Christians in the church; and as they had not seen a person of his colour before, they were astonished, and took him to their conduit of water to wash him, supposing his blackness to be fictitious. After seven days of imprisonment, this man contrived to effect his escape; and having informed his commander of the manner and the direction in which this place was supplied with water, the conduit was discovered and stopped. Though the besieged had now no hope of deliverance, yet, when safety was offered them on condition either of embracing the Mahometan faith or of paying tribute, they still obstinately refused to submit; and the church being set on fire around them, they perished in the flames.* For

* This account of the taking of Cordova, and the destruction of the Christians in the church, is much more particular and satisfactory than that given by Cardonne.

this reason, the place is called "the church of the burning," and is greatly respected by Christians, on account of the patience displayed in the cause of their religion by the people who perished in it. Their commander, however, deserted them in their extremity; and, attempting to flee to Toledo, was pursued and taken by the Moslems. This was the only governor made captive in the conquest of Spain, the rest either surrendering on terms, which secured to them their liberty, or fleeing to Galicia; and he was guarded in prison for the purpose of being presented to the Khalif.

With respect to the men who perished in the church, there is, however, a different tradition; which is, that after their chief was taken captive, Mughath beheaded all the rest; and the place is also called "the church of the captives."

The forces that proceeded against Malaga, having got possession of it, joined the army expedited to Albira; and, after a siege, they took Granada, the capital of that province, by storm. In these cities, when captured, as well as in Cordova, the Jews were received and trusted in preference to the Christians; the former, on account of the animosity existing between them and the latter, being left with a few Moslems in the defence of these places: but this system was generally pursued throughout the country, and where Jews were deficient, a proportionally greater body of Moslems was left in charge.

After the subjection of these cities, the army marched to Tadmīr,* the governor of which was also called Tadmīr, and the capital of the province was Uriyūla, a place celebrated for its strength; and Tadmīr was himself a man of discernment and understanding. Having ventured a battle in the open country, in which he was routed, and most of his men were slain, he ordered the women, on his arriving at Uriyūla, with a very insignificant body of warriors,† to dress themselves like

* Said by Archbishop Rodric to be the same as Murcia, but the Arabs called the chief city also Tadmīr; and they relate, that Murcia became the capital of the province after it: whence, as well as from the resemblance in the names, it seems to be Orihuela.

† Cardonne says, that the greater part of the inhabitants had quitted the place, for which reason the governor used the stratagem of parading the women on the walls: the more likely cause, however, seems to be, that the greater part of the garrison fell in the sortie, as here related.

men, and to parade on the walls with arms; he, himself, and the small remnant of his army, marching before them, in the hope of deceiving the Moslems with regard to the real strength of the garrison. In this stratagem he succeeded, and obtained terms of security for his people as well as for himself; which terms were faithfully observed, notwithstanding the vexation experienced by the Moslems at the artifice when discovered: so that the district of Tadmīr escaped the evils of conquest through this contrivance of its governor.

For the protection of these places, which were thus speedily subdued, a small portion only of the army was left, together with the Jews in them, as before noticed; and the principal part of it proceeded to Toledo, to join Tārik in the siege of that city.

Ibn Haiyān says, that the people had quitted Toledo when Tārik reached it, and betaken themselves to a town dependant on it beyond the mountains: the Jews, however, had collected themselves in the metropolis. Having therefore left a body of his men in charge of that city, he himself passed on after the fugitives. First he proceeded to Guadalaxara; thence to the mountains, which he traversed at a pass, named after himself; and thence to the city of the Table,* beyond the mountains: from this place he continued his career to the city, in which the people had fortified themselves,† where he made much valuable plunder. According to some authors, Tārik did not advance beyond this station before his return to Toledo; others, however, say, that he first penetrated into the Gallicias, and subdued the country as far as Astorga.

The famous Table,‡ from which the town above-mentioned took its name among the Arabs, is said to have belonged to King Solomon, son of David. Various accounts are, however, given of its form, as well as of its origin: some describe it as formed of one piece of green jasper,

* Now called Medina Celi.

† Apparently the city called Amaya by Casiri.

‡ But this table is also said to have been found at Toledo; and, besides it, of valuable plunder, one hundred and seventy crowns formed of pearls, rubies, and other precious stones. It is, moreover, related, that there was a gallery or hall full of gold and silver vessels, so extensive that horsemen took the diversion of throwing the spear in it.

both its surface and its feet; the latter being reported to amount to three hundred and sixty-five in number: Ibn Haiyān, however, says, that though named after King Solomon, this table was never his; but that it originated in the custom, observed by respectable people among the Christians, of bequeathing property to the churches; whence valuable utensils, such as tables and thrones, were procured, on which the gospels were exhibited at processions, and with which the altars were adorned: by means of such bequests, this table at Toledo was fabricated, and, being at the seat of government, it was emulously encreased and beautified by each succeeding sovereign to such a degree, that eye had beheld nothing comparable to it. The fabric was of pure gold, adorned with the most precious pearls, rubies, and emeralds; around it was a row of each of those valuable stones, and the whole was crowned with jewels. Among the charges brought by Tārik against Mūsa, before the Khalif, Sulaimān, this part of the plunder constituted the ground of one: and, by producing a leg which he had broken off from it before his delivering it to Mūsa, Tārik disproved the words of the latter; who falsely asserted to the Khalif, that the table had been obtained by himself, and had never been in Tārik's possession.

When Mūsa received from Tārik an account of his victory over Roderic, and of the spoils he had found, he was moved with jealousy against him, and prepared to lead an army himself to Spain. Having, therefore, committed Africa to his eldest son, Abdullāh, he proceeded to that quarter with a numerous body of soldiers and of chiefs, amounting to eighteen thousand men, or upwards; and he reached Spain in the month Ramazān of the year ninety-three.* On his arrival, he not only avoided the rock at which Tārik disembarked, and landed at another named after himself, Jabal Mūsa; but he refused to penetrate the country by the same route which Tārik had taken. His guides, therefore, who were Julian's adherents, promised to conduct him to cities of more importance, and more replete with plunder than those which Tārik had conquered: and after descending into Aljazīratu-l Khazrā,

* June, A. C. 712.

they led him along the coast by Shadhūna, which place he took by storm: thence he proceeded to Carmona, than which there was not a stronger fortress in Spain; but he gained it through the means of Julian's people, who were admitted by the citizens, as being a small body of their own countrymen only. Mūsa, however, approached in the night, and the small party which had been allowed to enter, contrived to open a gate for him, so that his forces rushed in, and at once made themselves masters of the place. Mūsa next advanced to Seville, the greatest and most wonderful of the cities of Spain; and, which had been the capital before the Goths conquered the country, and transferred the government to Toledo. Still, however, the chiefs of the religion resided there. This city held out some months against Mūsa, till being reduced to the necessity of surrendering, the chiefs of the infidels fled to Beja; and Mūsa left the Jews with a small body of his own troops for the protection of the place: he, himself, passing on to Merida, which had been formerly the seat of government under some of the princes of the country.* This city was very strong: in it were the remains of palaces, temples of a vast size, and other public structures; and the people being brave and determined, repulsed the Moslems several times with great loss. Having approached one of the towers, by means of a machine constructed for guarding the besiegers, the Moslems endeavoured to undermine the wall, but were met by a counter work of the besieged. The Moslems, moreover, through their incautiousness, were many of them slaughtered in this machine; whence the tower, against which it was directed, was called by the Moslems the "tower of the martyrs." Mūsa then offered to treat with the besieged on terms of capitulation: and when a deputation came forth to settle with him the conditions, he made use of a device to astonish them; and received them the first time, shewing his white hair, and his beard undressed, of the same colour; but, not agreeing

* It appears, too, from the context in a part of this history, that Mūsa sent his son Abdu-l Aala against Malaga, Granada, &c. But Cardonne seems to have mistaken Abdulaziz (who, from what follows, must have been at the siege of Merida) for his brother, Abdu-l Aala, who may have continued his conquests to Valencia.

then, they returned on the day before the feast after the expiration of the fast of Ramazān, and were surprised to behold his beard, which he had tinged with Hinna, of a red colour ; and, visiting him the next day, they were still more astonished at finding it black, as they were totally unacquainted with the practice of staining the beard. Going back to their fellow citizens, they then reported that they had been introduced to one of the prophets, who could change his appearance at pleasure ; as the chief had transformed himself from an old man to a young one : and they declared their advice to be, that they should return and concede to his demands. At this the people submitted ; and the terms of capitulation were agreed to, that the property of such citizens as fell on the day of a certain ambuscade, or as had fled to Gallicia, with all the riches and ornaments of the churches, should be given up to the Moslems : and the city surrendered on the day of the festival at the close of the fast of Ramazān, in the year 94.*

In the mean time the people of Seville conspired with those of Beja and Laila † to break the treaty entered into with the Moslems ; and they killed about eighty persons of the latter : in consequence of which, the Emir Mūsa, after the subjugation of Merida, dispatched his son, Abdulazīz, with an army, against those places. He first reduced Seville,

* About the last day of June, 713.

† Called by the Spaniards Ilipula ; and said by Cardonne to have been situate between Seville and Cordova. That author also describes the revolt as having originated with the people of Merida, which seems not so likely as what is here related ; nor does his topography of Laila appear so probable as that of Mariana, who fixes it in the same place as the modern Niebla. But Cardonne's account of this revolt, and of the situation of Mūsa and of his son Abdulazīz at the time, differs widely from that here given. The destruction, too, of Laila or Ilipula, which Cardonne asserts was the consequence of this revolt, must have been imagined only by that author : no such barbarous severity seems imputable to Mūsa, though represented by the same author as " *féroce et faisant la guerre en barbare, et sans respecter aucune des loix de l'humanité ;*" for the Arabic historians make no mention of so extraordinary an atrocity among them, and Laila will be found still to exist in this history. Besides, Laila and Beja do not appear to have been subject to the Moslems : these cities were, therefore, not guilty of treachery or of conduct deserving chastisement, as might be the case with respect to Seville, which had revolted after being allowed favourable conditions of peace by the enemy.

and chastised its inhabitants ; then, he marched against Laila, which he took : and, having restored the order of things, he fixed himself at the former city.

About the end of the month Shavwāl,* Mūsa left Merida to go to Toledo : but, Tārik being informed of his design, went forth with the chiefs of his people to receive him ; and the two conquerors met at some place in the district of Talavera. It is, however, said that Mūsa entered Galicia by the pass named after him, and penetrated through that country till he overtook the leader of the van of his army, Tārik, at Astorga ; when Mūsa quarrelled with him publicly, and manifested his animosity towards him. But it is also reported that immediately on beholding Mūsa, Tārik alighted to do honour to him ; when Mūsa cried out against him with a loud voice, and reproached him for presuming to act independently of him and contrary to his orders.† They then proceeded together to Toledo, where Mūsa required of him to produce the booty and public treasures in his hands ; and the celebrated table was a specific article which he insisted on having without delay : but Tārik, before giving up the table, had taken from it one of the feet, which he concealed ; and when questioned by Mūsa respecting it, he replied that the table was in the same state, when he found it, and that he knew nothing of the part wanting.‡ Mūsa then caused a foot of pure gold to be made, though far from equalling the other, yet as handsome as could be then procured.

After these transactions, Mūsa appeared reconciled to Tārik ; and restoring to him the command of the van of the army, directed him to

* July, 713.

† There is no intimation here of Mūsa's striking Tārik with his whip, as Cardonne has ventured to assert ; nor does there seem any probability that such an outrage could have proceeded from an Arab of Mūsa's character, however much he might have been piqued with jealous rage against his inferior. Cardonne, however, says that Mūsa kept Tārik in prison, with a design to murder him ; and that he was saved only by the interference of the Khalif's legate : and Alhumaidy, the historian, relates that Mūsa did actually intend to kill him ; but, in the mean time, a letter arrived from the Khalif, Alwalīd, commanding Mūsa to set him at liberty ; which was obeyed, and Mūsa proceeded with him to Syria.

‡ This device was adopted by Tārik to prove that the prize was his ; as will be afterwards shewn.

precede with his men ; Mūsa himself following with the great body of the forces. Ascending towards the upper frontiers,* they then subdued Saragossa, with its dependencies : and continuing to penetrate still farther into the country, they passed no place without reducing it ; for the Almighty had impressed the dread of them on the hearts of the infidels. When they had reached the confines, after receiving the submission of all the people through whom they passed, (for none dared to offer resistance), Mūsa himself halted some time to ascertain whether the people he had subdued were likely to acquiesce, or not, in the conditions imposed upon them : but the Moslems he sent forwards into France ; and they continued to subdue and plunder the country, till they reached the river Rhone, that being the limit beyond which the Arabians pushed not their conquests in the land of the barbarians. With his legions and cohorts, however, Tārik made himself master of the two cities of Barcelona and Narbonne, besides the rock of Anibūn and the fortress of Ludūn † on the river Rhone.

But this irruption of the Moslems alarmed the King of the Franks ; who collected his forces, and marched against them with a great army. He came first to the fortress of Ludūn ; from which he proceeded to the rock of Anibūn ; but he found none of the Moslems there, because they had encamped themselves before him, amongst the mountains that overhang Narbonne : and, though they had been informed of the greatness of his force, yet success had rendered them so incautious that they allowed the enemy to surround them, and cut off their retreat to Narbonne, before they were aware of his approach. In this situation, the Moslems had a severe battle, in which a number of them fell ; but, they at length succeeded in forcing their way through the ranks of the enemy, till they reached Narbonne, and secured themselves in its fortifications. The Franks then laid siege to the city ; but, after some days, having lost many men, and fearing the succours that might be sent to the Moslems,

* By the words here translated, "upper frontiers," Arragon seems intended.

† What places are these names intended to designate ? Perhaps Avignon may be the first ; as the Arabs are said to have taken that city. Cardonne is unable to ascertain them ; and he mentions Carcassone as the extremity of the Moslem irruption.

their king relinquished the attempt, and returned to his own territory : he however erected fortresses on the Rhone, and filled them with troops, as frontier garrisons against the Moslems.

Having thus subdued the land of Spain from Cadiz in the west, to Barcelona in the east, and to Narbonne in the north ; Mūsa formed the design of forcing his way across the continent of Europe, from Spain to Constantinople ; and of returning to the presence of the Khalif by that route, after he should have subdued all the intermediate nations : but, this project being communicated, through some channel, in an unfavourable light to the Khalif, Alwalīd, he was greatly terrified at the risk his forces would incur in such an enterprise ; and he immediately dispatched an envoy, not only with letters of reproof to Mūsa on this account, and with orders for him to return, but with a commission directing the envoy himself to lead back the Moslems, if Mūsa should hesitate. Yet, so intent was Mūsa on subduing the Gallicias, that he prevailed on the envoy, by offering him half his own share of the spoils, to consent to his invading that country ; which he passed through till he reached the sea, destroying the churches and breaking all the bells. The interference of the Khalif, however, who dispatched a second envoy to recall him, disconcerted Mūsa's designs : having, therefore, made suitable arrangements for the protection of his conquests, and committed the government of Spain to his son, Abdulazīz, he returned to Cairuān in the year 95 : * and, the following year, he left that seat of his government in Africa, and proceeded with the vast booty he had acquired, of which thirty thousand captives † constituted a part, to the court of the Khalif at Damascus.

When Mūsa returned to Syria, Alwalīd was either dead, or nearly at the point of death ; and authors are at variance on this particular. Those who make the first assertion say, that Sulaimān, brother and

* 713 or 714, A.C.

† Cardonne says they were thirty thousand females, all daughters of the chiefs of the Goths : but the specification of females does not occur in the manuscript here translated. It is, however, recorded that Mūsa twice sent the Khalif Abdulmalik, twenty thousand female captives of the Barbarians from Africa.

successor of Alwalīd, was ill-disposed towards Mūsa : and that Tārik, as well as Mughaith Arrūmy, having reached Damascus before their superior, had, by their complaints of the latter, and the accusations they alleged of his rapacity and injustice, augmented the sovereign's resentment towards him. For Mūsa had made Mughaith, who took Cordova, his enemy, by demanding of the latter, and taking from him by force, the captive governor of that city, whom Mughaith wished to present himself to the Khalif: and this affair became a matter of accusation against him. On being questioned, too, before the Khalif respecting the famous table named after Solomon, Mūsa asserted that the prize was originally made by him, and that Tārik had never beheld it except in his possession: the latter then requested the Khalif to ask Mūsa for the leg which had been broken off; and on Mūsa's saying that the deficiency existed when he first acquired it, Tārik produced from under his dress the very foot, and convinced the Khalif that the table had been in his hands first, and that Mūsa's evidence was incorrect. Mūsa's enemies, moreover, accused him of concealing a jewel, more valuable than any that had been seen since the conquest of Persia. By others it is reported, that when Mūsa returned from Africa to Syria, Walīd was so indisposed, that he was not expected to live long; and Sulaimān, the heir apparent, wrote to Mūsa, requesting him to delay his entry into Damascus till his coming to the throne; that the vast trophies and spoils of the conqueror might grace his inauguration: Mūsa, however, from motives of fidelity to his sovereign, refused his assent, and incurred the hatred of Sulaimān; who caused him ignominiously to remain standing in the sun till near perishing; cast him into prison; imposed on him a fine of two hundred thousand pieces of gold, which the sufferer was unable to pay; caused his son Abdulazīz to be murdered in Spain; and was with difficulty prevailed on to spare his life, after depriving him of all the wealth which he had acquired. So completely, indeed, was this great and fortunate commander, who had conquered Africa and Spain, and fixed his three sons Abdullāh, Abdulmalik, and Abdulazīz, in the government of those regions, stripped of every thing, that he was led about to the different tribes of the Arabs as a beggar, to solicit from their charity the bare means of subsistence: and, after

beholding the head of his son Abdulazīz, whom he left in Spain, thrown before him by the command of his revengeful and unfeeling sovereign, he died, deserted by all, through grief and absolute want, in the year 97, at his native place, Wādilkura, in Hijāz.

The sons of Witiza, Roderic's predecessor on the Gothic throne, are said by some Arabic authors to have been three; and that the estates of their father, which they divided amongst them, descended to their posterity. The eldest is reported to have fixed his residence at Seville; the second at Cordova; and the third at Toledo.

On Mūsa's departure from Spain, in the month Dhūlhijja of the year 95, he appointed his son, Abdulazīz, governor of the country. Though a good and learned man, under whom many places were subdued, he was murdered by the army, after a government of two years. His death is ascribed by some to the instigations of the Khalif Sulaimān; who, not satisfied with ruining the father, pursued the son with deadly animosity also: others, however, attribute this event to Abdulazīz's unfortunate marriage with Roderic's widow,* of whom he became enamoured. She, perceiving her influence over him, asked him why his subjects did not bow down to him, as they had done to her husband Roderic: he replied that such practices were contrary to their religion; but, as she was not satisfied with this answer, he was led by his attachment to her to imagine, that the want of such a ceremony diminished her regard for him: he therefore caused a low door to be erected in front of the room where he sat, so that all must bend themselves in passing through it; and he informed her that this ceremony was performed by them out of their reverence to him; with which intelligence she was content. This matter, however, was rumoured among the military: and the abhorrence it occasioned, together with the intimations given them on the part of the Khalif, induced them to murder him,† after he had ruled two years.

* Egilona; by whose persuasion, according to Cardonne, he caused himself to be proclaimed king, and she placed a crown on his head; in consequence of which the Arabs murdered him: but whence is this information derived by that author?

† Towards the end of the year 97, or about August A. C. 716. Cardonne, however, makes it two years later.

To Abdulazīz succeeded Aiyūbu-bn Habīb Allakhamy, son of Mūsa's sister : but, at the expiration of six months from his assumption of the government, he was removed by Alhurru-bn Abdirrahmān* Aththakafy, whom Muhammadu-bn Yazīd, governor of Africa, appointed.

Alhurr ruled two years and eight months ; when he was succeeded, at the commencement of the year 100, by Assamhu-bn Mālik Alkhau-lāny ; who, in obedience to the commands of the Khalif Omaru-bn Abdilazīz, by whom he was commissioned, levied a tribute of one-fifth on the country. Assamh, moreover, built the bridge of Cordova : and, in the year 102,† he died the death of a martyr, carrying on war in France.

The people of Spain then appointed over themselves Abdurrahmānu-bn Abdillāh Alghāfaky,‡ till the arrival of Ambasatu-bn Sahīm Alkalby from before Yazīd, governor of Africa ; which happened in the month Safar, of the year 103.§ He restored order in the state, and carried his arms far into the land of France ; where he fell a martyr, fighting for the faith, in the year 107,¶ after a government of four years and four months. At his death, the people of Spain applied to Basharu-bn Safwān, governor of Africa, for a successor ; and he sent, about the end of the year 107, Yahya-bn Salamat Alkalby, who ruled two years and a half, without making any conquests : some authors, however, mention Azratu-bn Abdillāh Alfahry, as preceding Yahya ; and it seems likely that he might hold the government during the interval between the death of Ambasat, and the arrival of Yahya from Africa.

To Yahya succeeded Othmānu-bn Aby Nisaa Allakhamy, or Alkhatamy, sent by Ubaida, governor of Africa ; but at the end of five

* In the year 100 of the Hijra, or 718 of Christ, according to Cardonne ; but his chronology does not agree with that of this author, as will be discovered by the succession of Assamh, here given. According to Cardonne, Assamh fell in the battle, which he calls, of Belāt, at Toulouse, in 104 of the Hijra, or 722 of Christ.

† 720 or 721 of Christ.

‡ Cardonne ascribes the appointment of Abdurrahmān to the Khalif, which seems much less likely than as here described.

§ About August A. C. 721.

¶ A. C. 725 ; and this date coincides with that given by Cardonne.

months, the same Ubaida removed Othmān by appointing Hadhīfatu-bnu-lakhwas Alkaisy, who arrived in the year 110;* it seems, however, uncertain whether Othmān preceded or followed Hadhīfa; but the latter, after governing nearly one year, was displaced by Alhīthamu-bn Ubaid Alkilāby, whom the same Ubaida commissioned. This governor, who arrived in the month Muharram of the year 111,† invaded and subdued the land of Makūsha:‡ but dying in 113, after having ruled two years, he was succeeded by Muhammadu-bn Abdillāh Alashjāi, who governed only two months. Next followed, in 113,§ Abdurrahmānu-bn Abdillāh Alghāfaky, appointed by Ubaidullāh, governor of Africa. After assuming the government, Abdurrahmān invaded France, and gained several battles there, till in Ramazān of the year 114,¶ his army was destroyed, and he himself slain in the famous battle of Tours, called by the Mahometans Balātu-sh Shuhadā.|| He ruled one year and eight months; and was succeeded by Abdulmaliku-bn Kutān Alfahry, who entered on the government in the month Ramazān of the year 114,** and ruled two years; or, according to Alwākidy, four years; but he was unjust and tyrannical in his conduct. He carried on war against the Bascons in the year 115, and was prosperous: but in the month of Ramazān of the year 116, he was removed from the government, and succeeded by Akabatu-bn Hajāj Assalūly, whom the aforementioned governor of Africa appointed, and who ruled five years with great renown for the justice of his sway and the success of his arms. Under him, the Moslems regained possession of Narbonne, and extended their dominion to the river Rhone; but in the year 121 †† his predecessor, Abdulmalik,

* 728 of Christ.

§ 731 of Christ.

† About April 729 of Christ.

¶ October or November 732 of Christ.

‡ Is this any, and what, part of Spain?

|| Balātu-sh Shuhadā, Palace of the Martyrs: but Cardonne has erroneously given the first part of this name to the battle, in which Assamh fell, as he says, near Toulouse; and this same author, in a note, given under pretext of affording information relative to the decisive battle of Tours, has unwittingly inserted a translation of the King of the Franks attack on the Arabian army, posted on the hills near Narbonne, during the government of Mūsa; which has been here already related in due order, and perhaps with more accuracy.

** November 732 of Christ.

†† 739 of Christ.

deprived him by force of the government, and either killed him or forced him to quit the country.

In this state of things, Abdulmalik reassumed to himself the rule of Spain, and retained it till the year 124,* when Balaju-bn Bashar Alkushairy arrived, with an army of Syrians: and after killing Abdulmalik, he governed for the space of one year nearly.

Arrāzy, however, differing from the account above given, says, that the people rose against Akabat in the month Safar, of the year 123, when they made Abdulmalik governor a second time: and, in the same month, Akabat died at Carcassone, having ruled six years and four months. Whilst Abdulmalik was in the possession of the government, Balaju-bn Bashar arrived with the army of Syrians who had escaped from the battle of Kulthūmu-bn Iyāz† against the Barbars; and having attacked Abdulmalik, who was then in his seventieth year, he slew him and seized the government. But the tribe to which the deceased belonged, being joined by many who disapproved of the murder, set the authority which Balaj had thus acquired at defiance; and, headed by Abdulmalik's sons and relatives, they encountered the usurper in battle. On this occasion, though Balaj was victorious, yet he died of the wounds he then received, in the year 124, after he had ruled nearly one year.

On the decease of Balaj, Thaalabatu-bn Salāmat Aljudhāmy or Alaamily, seized the government of Spain, and ruled with justice two years; though the tribe of Fahr refused to submit to him; and after the ten first months of his administration, civil commotions sprung up from the very connexions he formed to ennoble his family. When Abū-l Khatār Husām Alkalby, however, arrived as governor from before Safwānu-bn Hanzala, regent of Africa, in the year 125,‡ the people of Spain submitted to him; and Thaalabat, with other powerful men of the country, going to meet him, were treated kindly by him, and his authority

* 741 or 742 of Christ,

† Cardonne calls this the battle of Abdullāh ubn Hajab: see page 163 of his "Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne."

‡ 742 or 743 of Christ.

became fully established. To him people flocked from Syria in such numbers, that Cordova could not longer contain them: he, therefore, settled the people of Damascus at Albīra (Granada), on account of its resemblance to that city, and named it Damascus: the people of Emessa he in like manner placed at Seville, and named it Emessa: the people from Kinisrīn, at Jaen, and called it after their native place: the people of Palestine, at Xeres, which he named Palestine: the people from Misr at Tadmīr,* which likewise took the appellation of Misr: and the people of Jordan at Malaga, which he named Urdan (Jordan). But, as Abūlkhatār was descended from a family of Yemen, he shewed great partiality to the people of that country; and having on some occasion issued an order against Samīl, chief of the family of Kais, and a powerful man of the Muzarites,† his party collected together in his defence, and deposed Abūlkhatār, in the year 128, after he had ruled four years and nine months.

Thawābatu-bn Salāmat Aljudhāmy then took the government; and, being confirmed in it by the regent of Africa, he put in order the affairs of Spain: but the two factions conspired against him and killed him in the first year of his administration.

At this time civil war raged in Africa, and the authority of the house of Ummaiya was on the point of expiring in the east; when the people of Spain were left without a ruler: but they first entrusted the direction of affairs to Abdurrahmāni-bn Kathīr: then the army agreed on dividing the government between the Muzarites and the Yemenians; so that the two factions should each appoint the ruler annually by turns. In conformity with this arrangement, the Muzarites chose Yūsufu-bn Abdirrahmān Alfahry for governor the first year: but when at the close of the year, the Yemenians sought to exercise their privilege, according to the agreement, the opposite part, with Samīl,

* Murcia.

† The grand division of the Arabs, which was constantly in opposition to the people of Yemen: the first claim their descent from Muzar, son of Nizār, son of Maadd, son of Adnan, a descendant of Ismael, and their ensign is of a red colour; whilst the Yemenians deduce their origin from Kahtān, or Joctan of the English Bible, son of Eber, and the colour of their ensigns is yellow.

opposed them; and having defeated their leader, Abūlkhatār, Samīl slew him in the year 129, and Yūsuf became absolute in the government. He then appointed Samīl to the government of Saragossa; but, on the latter's proceeding there, he was opposed by Hubāba-z Zahry, who had come to Spain in support of the cause of the Abbassides; and, as Yūsuf could not afford him the assistance he required to establish his authority in that city, he quitted it, and was fixed in the government of Toledo, which he held till the arrival of Abdurrahmāni-d Dākhil, founder of the dynasty of Ummayya in Spain.

During these transactions, the dispersed remnant of the Christians began first to collect under Pelagius of Asturias; who, being settled at Cordova as a hostage for the chief man of his country, fled from that city, whilst Alhurru-bn Abdirrahmān ruled, in the year 98 of the Hijra; and, having put himself at the head of his countrymen, he expelled the Arabian governors, and assumed the sovereignty of that territory. According to the historian Rāzy, however, Pelagius began to shew himself during the government of Ambasat. Through the conflict which the Christians, headed by him and by his successors, maintained in Spain, the Franks* were enabled to ward off the Mahometans from the rest of Europe, when they had actually begun to despair of doing so; though, on the subjugation of the land to Arles† in France, and the taking of the city of Pamplona, in Gallicia, by the Moslems, nothing remained to Pelagius but the rock in which he had taken refuge, together with three hundred followers. Against this body, the Moslems ceased not contending, till all the individuals composing it had died of hunger, except thirty men and ten women; for such was the distressed state of the besieged, that they had nothing to subsist on but the honey which they gathered in the crevices of the rocks.

Through fatigue and contempt, their opponents at length quitted the pursuit of them, saying to themselves "as to these thirty barbarians, what can come of them?" yet their force and number afterwards became such as could not be concealed. Pelagius reigned nineteen

* Europeans generally.

† Or perhaps Narbonne is intended by the Arabic word.

years; and dying in 133 (of the Hijrā)* was succeeded by his son Favila, who reigned two years only. The kingdom then devolved to Alfonso, son of Pedro, ancestor of the family whose sway continues to this time.

* This date seems incorrect, as it is before said that Pelagius began to exercise his authority in the year 98, and that he reigned nineteen years: whence it is most likely that he died in 117 of the Hijra, or 735 of Christ, as Cardonne has recorded.

CHAPTER III.

THE REIGNS OF THE INDEPENDENT SOVEREIGNS OF THE HOUSE OF UMMAIYA, IN SPAIN, TILL THE EXTINCTION OF THAT DYNASTY.

Abdurrahmān I. enters Spain, and is acknowledged Sovereign—Alliances between him and Charlemagne—Abdurrahmān defeats the efforts of Almansūr—Accession of Hishām to the Khilāfat of Cordova—His wise administration—Public edifices erected by him—He is succeeded by Alhakam—His reign disturbed by intestine commotions—Description of his person and character—Reign of Abdurrahmān II.—His victories over the Christians—Predatory incursions of the Normans in Spain—Character of Abdurrahmān II.—Anecdote of his gallantry—Accession of Muhammad—The Normans defeated—Reign of Abdurrahmān III.—His battles with the Christians—He is defeated at the battle of Zamora—Splendid reception of an Ambassador from the Greek Court of Constantinople—Peace with the Christians—Splendid present made to him by one of his Vizirs—Accession of Alhakam II.—Successes against the Gallicians—The Normans expelled from Spain—Extent of his dominions—Hishām II.—His power usurped by the Vizir Ibn Abī Admīr, who dethrones him—Subsequent proceedings of Almansūr—His death—Hishām II. restored, dethroned, and put to death—Accession of Almuḥdy—Conspiracy against him—His death—Disputes concerning the succession—The government usurped by Aliyu-bn Hamūd—and by Almāmūn—Death of Almāmūn.

ON the subversion of the house of Ummaiya, in Asia, Abdurrahmān, son of Muāvia, son of Hishām, son of Abdulmalik, son of Marwān, escaped to Africa, and retired to a part of Barbary, in the district of Tripoly: but, learning that Abdurrahmāni-bn Habīb, governor of Africa, who had slain his two relatives, the sons of Alwalīd, was

informed of his residence, he quitted that retreat, and settled at Makīla, where he obtained the protection of the Zanāta tribe of Barbarians: thence he removed to Melilla, and dispatched his servant, Badr, to the adherents of his family in Spain, to engage them in his interest. On Badr's arrival among them, they began to publish the pretensions of Abdurrahmān to the throne, and to celebrate his fame: and, at the approach of the latter, the rival factions of Muzar and Yemen desisted from their contentions; but the Yemenians especially exulted in the prospect of his sway, on account of the treatment they had experienced from Yūsuf, and his coadjutor, Samīl. With this intelligence of the favourable disposition of the people in Spain, Badr then returned to his master, who passed the straits in 138* of the Hijra, and landed on the coast of Almankab;† where he was joined by people from Seville, who gave their allegiance to him. No sooner, however, had accounts of Abdurrahmān's entering the country reached Yūsuf, who was at that time carrying on war in the Gallicias, than he hastened back to Cordova: but, in his conduct on this occasion, Yūsuf rejected the counsel of his minister, Samīl; who advised him to treat Abdurrahmān with kindness and respect, on account of his youth and rare disposition.

Departing from Almankab, Abdurrahmān repaired to Malaga; the military in which place acknowledged him for their sovereign: thence he proceeded to Ronda, Xeres, and Seville, the troops of the cities flocking to him, and even many of the Muzarites; so that none continued to adhere to Yūsuf, except the Fahrites and the Kaisites,‡ who were retained by the influence of Samīl. Such being the state of things, Abdurrahmān marched against his adversaries, and a battle took place without the city of Cordova, in which Yūsuf was defeated. The latter then fled to Granada, and fortified himself there: but Abdurrahmān pursued him, and laid siege to that city, when Yūsuf offered to capitulate, and peace being granted him on condition that he should reside at

* A. C. 755 or 756. † Now called "Almunezar," and it is in the kingdom of Granada.

‡ Two families of the Muzarite division of Arabs. Yūsuf being of the first, and Samīl of the latter.

Cordova only, Abdurrahmān conducted him back thither. In the year 141,* however, Yūsuf infringed the treaty, by fleeing from Cordova to Toledo, where he was joined by about twenty thousand men of the Barbarians: and Abdurrahmān sent against him Abdulmaliki-l Marwānī, who defeated Yūsuf in battle. Having now no place of retreat, some of his discontented followers seized him in the district of Toledo, cut off his head, and conveyed it to Abdurrahmān; whose authority became fully established at this event.

The seat of Abdurrahmān's government was Cordova, which he surrounded with a wall: he also erected a palace, and began the building of the great mosque, but died before this was completed, though he founded and finished many others. At the commencement of his reign, the people acknowledged Almansūr, of the house of Alabbās, as Khalif; Abdurrahmān, however, abolished this practice, and not only founded a great kingdom for the sons of Marwān,† but restored in Spain the honours of the Khilāfat, which they had lost in the east. He was surnamed Addākhil, (the enterer), because he was the first prince of the house of Ummaiyya who entered Spain; and the Khalif Almansūr, his contemporary, called him "the hawk of the Coraish," on account of the ability he displayed in surmounting difficulties on his passage to that country from Asia, and of the celerity with which he made himself master of it, though destitute of followers at his arrival. Neither he, however, nor his successors, assumed any title but that of Emīr, out of respect to the Khalif, who resided at the mansion of Islamism,‡ and the consistory of the Arabs,§ till Abdurrahmān Annāsir, the eighth sovereign of his family in Spain, perceiving how little power the Khalifs of the house of Alabbās really possessed after the third century of the Hijra, claimed the supreme dignity of Amīru-l Mūminīn,§ which was continued to his posterity.

* A. C. 758 or 759.

† An eminent ancestor of Abdurrahmān, as before-mentioned: and this phrase is used to designate the royal family, descended from him in Spain. ‡ Metonymies of Baghdad.

§ "Commander, or Chief of the faithful;" being the peculiar appellation of the Khalif.

But, whilst Abdurrahmān was contending for the empire in Spain, and settling the government, Fruela, son of Alfonsus, seized the opportunity occasioned by the distraction of the Musalmān forces, to extend his kingdom of Galicia, and to repel the Moslems from the frontiers: so that he made himself master of Lugo, Oporto, Zamora, Cashtāla, and Shafūnia,* which remained in possession of the Gallicians, till Almansūru-bn Aby Aamir reconquered them towards the close of this dynasty.

Abdurrahmān, and Charles, King of the Franks, one of the most powerful sovereigns of his age, after they had tried each others prowess in war, sought to form an alliance by marriage; but the former having met with an accident on the loins, which injured his virility, that design was abandoned: Charles, however, courted his friendship, and pressed the alliance; and, though the latter was declined, peace was established between the† two sovereigns.

So great indeed was the renown acquired by this Prince, that not only was his friendship courted by Charles, but his greater rival, the Khalif Almansūr, would frequently speak of him with admiration, relate his achievements, and extol his sagacity and prudence. Comparing Abdurrahmān with himself, he would remark that his own power, extensive as it truly was, being founded on fortuitous circumstances, and established by time, was not so much to be wondered at, as the dominion which Abdurrahmān had of himself acquired, when deprived of friends, and destitute of assistance: and he hesitated not to allow him the superiority. Of these two great contemporaries and rivals, Ibn Haiyān has recorded many striking coincidences; and among the rest, he observes, that both their mothers were of the same country, namely, of Barbary.

* What places do these two last names indicate? The first seems to denote Castille; but the latter is still more obscure, unless it means Segovia.

† In the original, however, it is somewhat doubtful which of the two Princes is here intended as being thus disabled: but it seems to have been Abdurrahmān who declined the marriage; whence it appears most likely, that he was the person injured as above described.

In the year 146* of the Hijra, came Alala-bn Mughaith from Africa to Spain, with the design of bringing over the people to acknowledge the supremacy of Almansūr; and many joined him at Beja, where he fixed his abode: but Abdurrahmān marched against him; and having met him in the territory of Seville, he fought him several days, till Alala fell, with seven thousand of his followers. The heads of many of the slain in this battle, Abdurrahmān caused to be conveyed to Kairuān and Mecca; and to be privately cast into the streets of those cities, together with the standards of the house of Alabbās, and the commission Almansūr had given to Alala. This contrivance terrified Almansūr so much, that he exclaimed, “ This fellow is the Devil “ himself; thanks to God for having placed a sea between us and “ him !”†

Abdurrahmān is described as of a florid complexion (or having reddish hair), being thin-cheeked, with a mole in his face, tall and slender in body, one-eyed, and destitute of the sense of smelling. From the chiefs of the Arabs in Spain, he had at various times much opposition; so that towards the end of his reign, having lost his confidence on them, he sought the aid of others, by peculiar attention and favour. When, however, he had secured himself against internal enemies, he made war in the land of the Franks, the Bascons, and those beyond them; from which expedition he returned victorious. He had designed, moreover, to re-establish the dominion of the family of Marwān in the east: but he died, without attaining this object, in the year 172,‡ or, as some relate, in 171, after a reign of thirty-three years and four months; his birth having happened in 113, and his entrance into Spain in 183. The children he left, were twenty males and nine females.

On the decease of Abdurrahmān, his son Hishām succeeded to the throne, agreeably to the will of the father, who preferred him to Sulaiman, on account of his better qualifications for the duties of a sovereign. When the empire devolved to Hishām, however, he was

* A. C. 763 or 764.

† This account differs much from Cardonne.

‡ A. C. 788.

at Merida, of which city he was then governor; his father having, in early youth, accustomed him to rule and to engage in the affairs of state.*

At the commencement of his reign, he sent for a famous astrologer, who lived at Algesiras: and, having consulted with him as to the duration of his sway, the man hesitated to reply, and required some time to adjust his answer. But, being again summoned in a few days, Hishām asked him with much earnestness, to be explicit, and to open his mind freely: the man then said, “Thy reign shall be glorious and “fortunate in thy triumphs over all thy enemies; its duration, however, will be eight years, or nearly so.” After reflecting a little, he replied, “This does not alarm me, though it may be the unerring admonisher who informs me by thy tongue: were this remaining portion of life to be spent in the adoration of the Almighty, I would “say, Obedience to Him.” He then rewarded the astrologer: and, abstaining from the pleasures of the world, he made righteousness the object of all his future actions.

Like the Khalif, Omaru-bn Abdilazīz, Hishām adopted the expedient of sending those who possessed his confidence into the provinces, to enquire into the conduct of his governors: and if an act of injustice was discovered to have been committed by any one, he would deprive him of his office, oblige him to make due atonement, and for ever afterwards exclude him from his service.

In the days of this Prince, Narbonne was again subdued, and the confederates of the Gallicians were forced to accept hard conditions of peace; by one of which they were obliged to convey many loads of earth from the walls of Narbonne to the gate of Hishām’s palace in Cordova. This earth was intended to be used in building the mosque before the gate of the gardens; so much, however, was brought, that after the completion of that edifice, a great quantity remained undisposed of.

* This account is very different from what Mariana relates; as may be seen by adverting to the 7th chapter of the 7th book of his history.

But, pious and just as Hishām was, he met with enemies, even in his own house; and he was obliged to appeal to arms in the contest with them, as well as with others. Having, however, succeeded in quelling those domestic and internal commotions, he delayed not himself taking the field against the unbelievers, whom he met and defeated. In the year 175,* moreover, he sent Yūsufu-bn Nujāba with an army into Galicia; who defeated king Bomond,† and did much injury to the enemy: and the next year he dispatched his Vizir, Abdulmalik, son of Abdulwahīd, on the same service; who attacked the forts of the infidel, and wasted his territories. The following year, too, he sent his Vizir against Narbonne and Girona: which he subdued; wasted the land of Cerdagne, and penetrated far into the country of the infidels. In the year 178,‡ he dispatched Abdulkarīm, son of Abdulwahīd, against Leon and the Castles; he commissioned the same, also, together with his brother Abdulmalik, against Galicia; and having reached Astorga, the king of Galicia, aided by that of Biscay, made head against him; but not daring to come to an engagement, he retreated, and Abdulmalik pursued him far into the country. Hishām, moreover, expedited forces by another route; which joined those under Abdulmalik: and, whilst they were wasting and subduing the land, they were opposed by the armies of France; from which they made some captives, and returned victorious.

Among the beneficial actions of Hishām may be numbered his renewal of the celebrated bridge at Cordova, which Assamh had raised: this he restored throughout; and happening on a certain day to ask one of his ministers what the people of Cordova said relative to that performance; he replied, “they say the prince’s motive for this is only “that he may pass over it to the chase;” on hearing which, Hishām bound himself by an oath never to ascend it again; and he scrupulously observed his engagement. After a reign of seven years and nine months, though some say of eight years, he died in 180,§ aged forty

* A. C. 791 or 792.

† A. C. 794 or 795.

‡ By Mariana called “Bermudo.”

§ A. C. 796 or 797.

years and four months ; * and he is numbered among the good and righteous, abundant in warlike enterprise, for the promotion of the faith. To him must, also, be attributed the merit of completing the great mosque of Cordova, which his father began.

In conformity with Hishām's will, his son Alhakam succeeded him. He encreased the number of the royal train, put his troops in due order for war, made his empire strong, and himself attended to the affairs of state. In consequence, however, of the civil wars which took place between him and his two uncles, the enemy found an opportunity to invade the realm of the Moslems ; so that in the year 185 † he made himself master of the territory of Barcelona, the forces of the Moslems withdrawing themselves from it. Alhakam, however, dispatched an army to Gallicia, under the command of his Hājib, ‡ Abdulkarīm ; who carried the war far into that country ; and, returning upon the enemy, who had collected at the passes in his rear, he defeated them, and victoriously forced his way back to the territories of the Moslems.

But Alhakam had internal as well as foreign enemies to contend with. Being at the commencement of his reign much addicted to pleasure, some people most eminent for learning and piety conspired against him ; and having by force removed him from the government, they inaugurated one of his kindred as sovereign in his stead. During this commotion, the excitors of it resided in the western suburb of Cordova ; the buildings of which adjoined his castle : thus situated, he fought and overcame them : when the insurgents betook themselves, some to Fez, and others to Alexandria. Those who fled to the latter place, being a considerable body, stirred up disorder in that city ; in consequence of which, Abdullah, son of Tāhir, governor of Egypt on the part of the Khalif Almāmūn, attacked them : and, having defeated them, he transported them to the isle of Crete ; where they remained till the Franks, after a length of time, dispossessed them of it. Besides this very remarkable civil war in the metropolis, Alhakam's reign was

* That is, lunar years according to the computation of the Arabs ; as he was born in the month Shavwāl of the year 137.

† A. C. 801.

‡ Prime minister, mayor of the palace, or commander in chief.

disturbed by rebellion of the people at Toledo, as well as at other places.

In the year 192,* Roderic, son of Charles, King of the Franks, collected his forces and advanced to the siege of Tarazona; † but Alhakam sent against him his son, Abdurrahmān, by whom the Franks were defeated, and obliged to retreat. In consequence, however, of the incursions which the Franks made on the frontiers, whilst Alhakam was engaged with his rebellious subjects, he himself led his armies against them, in the year 196; when he subdued the frontier towns and fortresses, desolated the provinces of his enemies, and afflicted them grievously with slaughter, captivity, and plunder. Four years after this last mentioned expedition, he dispatched his forces, under the command of Abdulkarīm, to the territory of the Franks; in which that leader spoiled the country to a considerable extent, and razed a number of fortresses. Whilst on this service, Alonso, King of the Gallicians, came against the Moslems with a vast army; and the two contending powers happening to meet at a river, the fight was continued between them for thirteen days, in which the Moslems gained great advantages; but, owing to the rains which fell, the river overflowed so much, that the Moslems, though victorious, were at last obliged to abandon the field of battle.

In short, Alhakam was the first who organised his armies, and rightly equipped them for war. Of all the house of Ummayya in Spain, he was the most determined, and the foremost in valour and military achievements; resembling his contemporary Abū Jaafaru-l Mansūr of the rival house of Alabbās, in energy of government, absoluteness of sway, and subjection of enemies.

Ibn Khaldūn, and other historians, relate that under Alhakam, the practice of allotting regular pay to the troops commenced. That prince, too, formed magazines of arms and provisions; increased the number of servants and attendants at court; kept a guard of horse at his gate, of which two thousand were constantly stationed on the bank of the river, opposite to the palace, in two houses built for their

* A. C. 807 or 808. † Cardonne says Tortosa, which may be the place intended; or, even Tarragona.

reception ; employed slaves * to the number of five thousand, of which three thousand were horsemen, as his body guards ; and, generally, he adopted such measures as first gave splendour to the empire of Spain. This prince, moreover, with his own eyes surveyed the affairs of men ; and with his own hands he conducted the reins of government : the society of the wise and good he courted ; and he it was who subjected the empire in Spain to the tread of his own foot.

Ibn Hazm says that he was tyrannical and a shedder of blood, till the pious and the learned set their faces against him ; when he repented of his past errors, and desisted from such conduct in future. He is, moreover, accused of seizing male children and causing them to be castrated : but, if this accusation is really well founded, perhaps he might have repented of that practice as well as of his other cruelties.

In the year 197 † a severe famine prevailed ; which Alhakam alleviated much by the assistance he imparted to the distressed.

This sovereign was tall of stature, thin, of a dark complexion, and his nose was aquiline. His children were twenty males and twenty females. The impression of his seal was, “ In God trusts Alhakam, and is secure.” This prince died about the end of the year 206, in the 27th year of his reign.

Of this prince it is related that the poet Alabbās, on travelling to the frontiers, happened to stop at Guadalaxara, where he heard a woman crying out, “ I require assistance of thee, Alhakam ; thou hast neglected “ us till we are overcome by the dog of the enemy, who has deprived “ us of both husband and children ! ” Finding her to be a well-bred woman, and being affected with her history and misfortunes, he alluded to her case in an ode, which he recited, on his return, to the sovereign ; and mentioned the appeal of the woman for help. Alhakam immediately issued orders to prepare for war ; and, after three days, having

* Or Mamalūks ; these being of the same name and applied to the same service, apparently, as the foreigners who were bought by the Sultans of Egypt, and known by this Arabic appellation among Europeans. But Alhakam called these troops “ the mutes,” because they were incapable of uttering the Arabic language with propriety.

† A. C. 812 or 813.

set out for Guadalaxara, taking the poet with him, he first enquired from what quarter the enemies, forming the irruption complained of, had come; he then invaded that country; and, having rescued the woman from captivity, he slew in her presence all whom he had made prisoners: and then asked her, if Alhakam, though distant, was appealed to in vain!

Conformable to the will of Alhakam, his son Abdurrahmān succeeded him in the government. And, at the commencement of his reign, the latter carried war into Gallicia; where he made a considerable stay, and penetrated far into the country.

In the year 206* came, from Irāk to Spain, Zaryāb the musician, servant of the Khalif Almuḥdī, and preceptor of Ibrahīmu-l Mausaly. Ibn Khaldūn mentions that Abdurrahmān rode forth himself to honour and welcome this man on his arrival; who left the science of music as an inheritance to his posterity in Spain: and, at his decease, the eldest of his sons succeeded to the profession and appointment of the father.

In the year 208† Abdurrahmān dispatched an army under the command of his minister, Abdulkarīm, against Ilia‡ and the Castles; in which expedition the country was much wasted, and the fortresses were subdued; so that several of them made peace on condition of paying tribute, and releasing the captive Moslems. Again, in the year 224,§ he commissioned his relative, Ubaidullāh, to lead an army to the same quarter; who met the enemy, vanquished him, and killed and took captive many of his people. Roderic, King of Gallicia, however, advanced to Medina Celi on the frontiers; but Fartūnu-bn Mūsa opposed and defeated him with great loss: Fartūn then proceeded against the fortress, which the people of Ilia had built on the frontiers, to annoy the Moslems; and this he took and razed. Afterwards, Abdurrahmān himself conducted his forces into Gallicia; where he subdued many fortresses; and, after a long campaign, returned victorious with his prisoners and booty.

* Which began about the 7th June, A. C. 821.

† A. C. 823 or 824.

‡ This seems intended for Leon; unless it is the place called Alveda by Cardonne.

§ A. C. 839.

In the year 226,* this prince sent Mūsa-bn Mūsa, at the head of an army, to the land of the Franks : and on their arrival at the territory of Sartania,† they encountered the enemy ; when, after an obstinate contest, it pleased the Almighty to rout the foe ; and Mūsa gained much renown in the campaign. Three years afterwards, Abdurrahmān dispatched an army under the command of his son Muhammad ; who advanced to Pamplona, fought with the trinitarians there, and slew Garcias, the sovereign, one of the greatest of the Christian princes.

About this time, the Majūs (Normans) appeared on the coast of Spain, and entered Seville : when, Abdurrahmān expedited forces against them from Cordova : and, the Normans having disembarked, a hard contested battle took place, in which the Moslems were put to flight ; but the army of the latter having obtained reinforcements from Cordova, the invaders ventured another battle, in which they were beaten and some of their ships were taken and burnt. They then departed to Shadhūna,‡ where they remained two days and collected some plunder : but, as the fleets of the Moslems had now reached Seville, they directed their course to Ilipula,§ thence to Beja, and lastly, to Lisbon ; at which place they re-embarked, and quitted the country. This descent of the Normans, and their departure, took place in the year 230 : ¶ and Abdurrahmān, afterwards, visited the places they had entered, to repair the devastation occasioned, and to secure the country against their future incursions.

In the following year he again sent his forces into Galicia ; when they laid siege to the city of Leon, and battered its walls with engines of war, till the people having fled from it, the Moslems entered, plundered, and burned it. They then attempted to demolish its walls ; but, on account of the solidity of their structure, being seventeen cubits thick, this design was found to be impracticable : they did not, however, depart till they had effected a breach in them. After this, Abdulkarīm led an army into the territory of Barcelona, which he ravaged ;

* 841 of Christ.

† Perhaps intended for Cerdagne.

‡ Said to be Xeres.

§ Called by the Arabs Laila, Lila, or Libla : Mariana makes it, in one part of his work, Ilipula, and afterwards Niebla, which seems to be the modern name of this place.

¶ A. C. 844 or 845.

thence he proceeded through the defiles of the Pyrennees into the land of France; which he afflicted with slaughter and captivity. He, also, laid siege to Girona, the principal city of that part of the country, and returned, after wasting the territory around.

To Abdurrahmān, surnamed Alausat,* to distinguish him from his ancestor, Addākhil, and his descendant, Annāsir, both of whom bore the same prenomēn, the Grecian Emperor, Theophilus, sent an embassy in the year 235,† to solicit his friendship. The Greek, moreover, on account of the defeats he had suffered from the Khalifs Almāmūn and Almuatasam, sought to induce Abdurrahmān to enter the lists against the house of Alabbās, from the motive of seeking to regain the empire of his ancestors in Asia. Assenting to his request, in part at least, Abdurrahmān sent back to him Yahya-l-Ghazzāl, one of the principal men of his court as well as a poet and philosopher, and he established an alliance between the two princes. Thus the fame of Abdurrahmān became so great, as to place him in competition with his exalted rivals of the prevailing dynasty in Asia.

After a reign of thirty-one years, this prince died in the month Rabi' u-l ākhir, of the year 238.‡ His birth happened at Toledo, in 176 of the Hijra. He was conversant in the doctrine and ordinances of religion, as well as in the sciences of philosophy; and his days were those of wealth and peace. Palaces he raised, and formed delightful gardens, to which he conducted water from the distant mountains. Bridges he constructed; and, during his reign, were erected the principal mosques in various districts of Spain. He, moreover, added two porches§ to the great mosque at Cordova. Though many of these undertakings, being incomplete at his death, were finished by his successor. To augment the respect of the common people for their sovereign, he adopted the custom of veiling his person, on all occasions, from the public eye; and he established other regulations to maintain the dignity

* "The medial," meaning the second of the three Abdurrahmāns.

† 849 or 850 of Christ.

‡ September or October, A. C. 852.

§ The Arabic term, here translated porches, is not well understood. It may mean some different part of the edifice from what we call a porch.

of the state. The number of his children was one hundred and fifty males, and fifty females; and the impression of his seal was, "The servant of the Merciful rests contented in the decrees of God."* This motto, devised and first used by him, was also adopted and continued by his descendants. Under Abdurrahmān, the annual revenues of the state amounted to one million of dinars; though they had not, before him, exceeded six hundred thousand dinars. This Prince was much addicted to women; but of his mistress, Tarūb, he was so fond, that when, on account of some offence she had received from him, she long resisted all his entreaties to come to him, and not only barred the door against his chief eunuchs, whom he had sent to fetch her, but bound herself by oath that she would not stir in obedience to his command, though it were to avoid death; instead of opening her door by force and obliging her to comply, as his courtiers suggested, he caused the door place to be blocked up with bags of money; then coming himself to the spot, he sought, by kind words, to reconcile her, and presented her with all the treasure there heaped up; so that she at last consented to open the door, and return to him. At another time, too, he gave her a dress worth one hundred thousand dinars. His concubines, Mudathira and Ashshifā, he liberated and married. As to his mistress, Kalam, she was a scholar who wrote elegantly, recited poetry, was conversant in history, and acquainted with polite learning in various branches. Of all his enjoyments, however, that in which he took most delight, was to hear the works of the learned read to him.

To Abdurrahmān Alausat, his son, Muhammad, succeeded. At the beginning of his reign he sent forth an army under the command of Mūsa-bn Mūsa, which ravaged the territories of Ilia, and the Castles, and took some forts. He also dispatched another army to the territory of Barcelona, and the country beyond that city, which it wasted, and the fortresses of which it subdued. But, when the people of Toledo rebelled, and sought the assistance of the kings of Gallicia and Navarre,

* The two first words in this motto allude to the Prince's own name, Abdurrahmān, meaning "servant of the Merciful."

he went against them himself: and having formed an ambush on the Guadacelete, into which they fell, he slew in battle of the people of Toledo and the trinitarians, twenty thousand persons.*

In the year 245,† the ships of the Majūs (Normans) again appeared, and committed depredations on the coast of Spain; when Muhammad's fleet fought them, and took from them two ships, though with considerable loss in killed.

In 247, Muhammad attacked the territory of Pamplona, when he conquered much of that country, subdued many forts, and took Fartūn, the king's brother, prisoner, who remained twenty years a captive at Cordova. And in 251,‡ his brother, Almundhir, led an army against Ilia and the Castles; when Roderic venturing to confront the Moslems in battle, was defeated; and the true believers gained an unparalleled victory over the polytheists. In the same year, too, Muhammad himself headed an expedition against Gallicia, and wasted that country.

In 263,§ Muhammad dispatched his son, Almundhir, to the seat of war; and the year following, he sent him to the territory of Pamplona, which he wasted. In the year 268, too, he entrusted his army to the same leader, who spoiled the theatre of war, and subdued the strong places in it. In the days of this prince, the city of Merida was smitten, and levelled to the ground.

After a reign of thirty-five years, Muhammad died in the month Safar, of the year 273;¶ and he was born in 207. To Muhammad succeeded his son, Almundhir; but his reign was short, and he died in the month Safar of the year 275,|| two years, less by half a month, after coming to the throne. He was succeeded by his brother, Abdullāh, who died in the year 300,** after a reign of near twenty-five years.††

* During this rebellion, Muḥammād seized by surprise, and destroyed a wonderful bridge over the Tagus at Toledo. It consisted of one single arch, was three hundred Baa, (an Arabic measure, apparently the same, or nearly the same, as the cubit), in length, and eighty Baa in breadth. Adjoining to this bridge was a water wheel, ninety cubits in height; which raised water to the top of the bridge, whence it flowed into the city. † A. C. 859 or 860. ‡ 865 of Christ.

§ 876 or 877 of Christ. ¶ July or August, 886 of Christ. || July, 888. ** A. C. 912 or 913.

†† It is remarkable that the author makes no mention of the acts of Abdullāh, though he

To Abdullāh succeeded, in an extraordinary way, his grandson, Abdurrahmān: for, though the latter was but a youth, and had uncles and great uncles present, yet they concurred in placing him on the throne, and in preferring his rule to that of themselves. On assuming the government, he found the country convulsed by intestine revolt; and its forces dissolving in the flames kindled by the ambitious: but he subdued the rebels, and completely frustrated the attempts of the designing. So fully did he accomplish this, that when he had attained to little more than twenty years of age, the people in every quarter submitted to his sway, and he reigned over them upwards of fifty years; in which period he raised the empire of the house of Ummayya, in Spain, to its highest pitch. He it was, who, perceiving the reduced state of the Khalifs in Asia, and the domination of their servants, the Turks, over them (since Mūnis servant of Muktadir had even killed his own master) assumed the title of Amīru-l Mūminīn, and the honorary name of Annāsir Lidīnillāh,* as well as other appendages of the Khilāfat. The detail of the various memorable occurrences, relative to Annāsir, would exceed the limits assigned to this narrative; yet a few particulars deserve to be noticed. At the commencement of his reign, he alleviated the taxes of his people: and after his victories over the rebels in the country, as before noticed, he obliged them to evacuate all their strong places, so that no competitor remained to him. In his wars against the unbelievers, too, he signalised himself greatly. In the year 308,† he carried his arms into Gallicia; the king of which country, Ordono, son of Alonso, having sought assistance from Navarre and France, had been joined by Sancho, son of Garcias, king of Navarre: Annāsir, however, routed them, wasted their country, subdued their strong holds, and demolished their fortresses. Then in the year 312, he made war on Pamplona, conquered the open country, took and razed the forts, and penetrated to the other extremity of the land; the enemy opposing him upon the mountains and difficult passes only, without causing him any injury.

reigned so many years: the reason might be that he did not make any notable conquest, or gain any splendid victory; but was rather unfortunate in his government.

* Defender of the true faith.

† A. C. 920 or 921.

After this, he had to contend with one of his own subjects, who had rebelled and sought assistance from the Christians. Sometime after the suppression of this rebellion, Annāsir invaded Ilia, and took thirty forts belonging to it: and in the year 325, being informed that Tūda, or Teuda, Queen of Navarre, who, on the death of her son Garcias, had taken charge of the government in behalf of his son, had infringed the treaty subsisting between them, he attacked her, penetrated to Pamploña, and, on her submission, he invested her son,* Garcias, with the sovereignty of the country. He then invaded Leon, and the open country, and afterwards entered Gallicia; when King Ramiro hesitating to meet him in the field, shut himself up in his fortified places, whilst Burgos, and many other fortresses, were taken and demolished by the Moslems.

Annāsir, further, turned his attention to the land of Africa; and having in the year 317,† made himself master of Ceuta, the Banū Idrīs, princes of Africa, with the kings of the Zanātas and Barbaras, submitted to him; so that most of them sent over such of their forces as he required to his assistance in Spain.

In the year 327,‡ happened the battle of the ditch, as it is called; and, it is thus related by Masaūdy. On learning the revolt of Ummaiyatu-bn Ishaac, and his junction with the Christians, to whom he pointed out the weakest parts on the frontiers of the Moslems, Annāsir led an army of more than one hundred thousand men to Zamora, the capital of Gallicia, and laid siege to that city. In the month Shavwāl of that year,§ three days after the eclipse, a battle took

* Perhaps her grandson.

† 929 of Christ.

‡ 939 of Christ. But this battle is also said to have happened in 323 of the Hījra; and the month Shavwāl of that year began about the third of September, 935 of the Christian era; both these dates, however, differ from Mariana's chronology. See the 5th chap. of the 8th book of his "Historia General de España." Cardonne seems to have followed Mariana in this, as apparently in many other instances: and it is remarkable, that these two European authors represent the battle as happening at Simancas, whilst the Arabians concur in its having taken place, as here stated, at Zamora. The occasion of this war, too, is differently related by Cardonne in every respect.

§ Between the 21st July and the 18th August.

place between him and Ramiro, King of the Gallicians, in which the Moslems were victorious. The besieged then made a sortie; and, being driven back into the city, the Moslems attempted to storm the place; when there were killed of the latter, after they had passed the ditch, fifty thousand. The same author, in another part, remarks, that there were seven walls of a wonderful construction round Zamora; and between the walls were outer works, and wide ditches, filled with water: of these the Moslems had gained two walls, when the besieged attacked them, and slew twenty thousand; and, besides the slain, forty thousand, or, according to some, fifty thousand, were drowned of the Moslems. Had Ramiro pursued the remnant of the Khalif's army after this last loss, he must have destroyed it entirely: but, Ibn Ishaac, by alarming him with the danger of an ambuscade, and alluring him with the riches, arms, and stores in the camp of the Moslems, diverted him from it. After this event, Ibn Ishaac sought a reconciliation with Annāsir, who received him graciously on his escaping from Ramiro.

Not intimidated by this serious defeat, Annāsir continued to send his forces, under various leaders, against the Gallicians, though he did not again head the army in person; and by these repeated expeditions, the enemy lost twice as many men as fell of the Moslems in that battle. Yet, in consequence of that event, the fortresses on the frontiers of France were reduced; and Narbonne, with other cities and castles, was taken from the Moslems in the year 330 of the Hijra. Six years afterwards, their frontiers were drawn back to Tortosa, on the sea coast, thence extending northwards along the great river (Ebro) to Lerida.

But, through dread of Annāsir, ambassadors were dispatched to him by various Christian princes. In the month Safar of the year 338,* arrived an embassy from Constantine, son of Leo, sovereign of Constantinople. The letter from this prince was on azure ground, and the characters were of gold; but within this was an enclosure, the ground of which was azure, like the first mentioned, but the characters were

* August, 949, of Christ. Another author, however, mentions, that this embassy arrived in 336 of the Hijra, or two years earlier.

silver; and this last contained an account of the presents that were sent: both these writings were in the Greek language. Upon the letter was a seal in gold, of the weight of four mithcāls; on one side of which was a likeness of the Messiah, and on the other were the figures of the Emperor Constantine and his father. In a box of carved silver the letter was deposited; and over that was a case of gold, in which was a portrait of Constantine, admirably executed on stained glass: this box, moreover, was enclosed in a quiver,* and the quiver was covered with a cloth of silk and gold tissue. On the first line of the preface of the letter was, "Constantine and Romanus, believers in the Messiah, the two Emperors, sovereigns of Rome;" and, on the other line was, "The Great in the rightful possession of Glory—the noble in descent, Abdurrahmān, the Khalif ruling over the Arabs in Spain—may God prolong his life!"

On the approach of this embassy, Annāsir first dispatched Yahya-bn Muhammād, with others, to the frontiers, to conduct it: and, on its drawing near Cordova, he sent general after general with divisions of troops, to meet and honour it: lastly, the two chief eunuchs, who had the government of the palaces, and were in those days of vast power in the state, went forth in great pomp to evince the utmost attention of the Khalif in receiving it: and the embassy was lodged in a seat of the heir apparent, in the suburbs of Cordova, where none were allowed to communicate with it. Then, on Saturday, the eleventh of the prior Rabīa, the doors, avenues, and areas of the palace being adorned with the richest draperies, curtains, and carpets, and the troops marshalled in their most splendid dresses and arms, the embassy was conducted to the Khalif on his throne: at the right hand of which were seated his sons; at the left, his uncles; his ministers were stationed on the right and left, according to their rank; and the sons of the Vizirs, with inferior officers, stood in their appointed places. With astonishment at the splendour and magnificence of this arrangement, the ambassadors presented the letter of Constantine; and the Khalif then commanded the learned to celebrate the eminency of Islamism, and of the Khilāfat,

* Apparently a case, in the form of a quiver, is intended.

as well as to return thanks for the mercies of God displayed in the manifestation and support of his holy religion, and in the humiliation of its enemies. When, however, they prepared to execute the command, the dread of the august assembly so overpowered them, that they turned their eyes abashed to the ground ; and, if they actually commenced a speech, it was interrupted by terror. Amongst them, too, was Abū Aliyu-l Kāly, from Irāk, a guest of the Khalif's, one of the associates of the heir apparent, Alhakam, and highly renowned for his knowledge of language, as well as for the works which he had published ; and, Alhakam had selected him for this performance, that he, rather than any other, might have the credit of it ;* but none of them could summon resolution enough to comfort the assembly. Then Mundhiru-bn Saïd, though devoid of experience in such matters, and without having made any preparation for the purpose, opened a speech, and dilated his arguments in a long poem, which he delivered extempore : so that not only his merit appeared extraordinary to the whole assembly, and the strangers regarded him as a chief in it, but Annāsir so highly valued him for his conduct on this occasion, as to appoint him to a principal office in the mosque of the palace of Azzahrā, in the first place ; and afterwards to confer on him the dignity of Cādhy, in the great mosque of Cordova, which he held with the highest credit till his death : he being famous for his eloquence in the pulpit, as well as for his writings on religious and moral subjects, and for his excellent poetry.

On the departure of those ambassadors, Hishāmu-bn Hadīl accompanied them on the part of the Khalif, taking with him abundant presents, for the purpose of making a suitable return to their sovereign, and of establishing friendship with him. And, at the expiration of two years, Hishām came back to Spain, attended by ambassadors from Constantine.

* It is, however, related by Ibn Haiyān, that Alhakam, the heir apparent, to whom the Khalif had committed the ordering of this ceremony, commanded the Fakīh Muhammādu-bn Abdi-l Barr, who was then in great repute for eloquence, to prepare the oration ; but, on his attempting to speak, he actually fainted ; and then Abū Aly was invited to undertake the task, in which he also had not power to proceed.

But other embassies, also, arrived at Annāsir's court ; namely, one from the King of the Sclavonians, called Dūcū ;* one from the King of France behind the Pyrenees, named Ukad ; and one from the sovereign of France on the east side of the country, called Calda. These envoys were likewise received by Annāsir with great pomp and state : and he sent back, with the ambassador of the Sclavonians, to their sovereign Hugo, Rabīa, the bishop, who returned after an absence of two years.

In the year 344,† there arrived an envoy from Ordoño to solicit peace ; which was established with him : and, the next year, he sent to request that Ferdinand, Count of Castille, might be comprised in the treaty ; which, also, was granted. This Ferdinand was a great man among the Gallicians ; who had rebelled against Garcias, son of Sancho : and Ferdinand, having taken the government of the country, had joined himself with Ordoño, son of Ramiro. But Garcias, against whom the Gallicians had acted treacherously, was the grandson of Tūda, queen of Navarre : and, in the year 347,‡ she presented herself before Annāsir, for the purpose of obtaining peace for herself and her son, Sancho ; as well as to solicit the Khalif's aid in behalf of her grandson, Garcias, to enable him to vanquish his enemy, and to regain his kingdom. With the Queen came, also, the two princes : and Annāsir received them in state. Terms of peace were then accorded to Sancho and his mother : and a large army was sent with Garcias, by which he was restored to his kingdom ; the Gallicians being induced to abjure their allegiance to Ordoño. For this effectual aid, Garcias, afterwards, sent an embassy of thanks to the Khalif : and he wrote letters to the surrounding people on this subject, as well as on the conduct of Ferdinand, Count of Castille ; whom he reproached for his treason and usurpation. Annāsir continued his friendly offices and assistance to Garcias, during his life.

With the ambassador of Calda, queen of the east part of France, whose arrival has already been noticed, came also an envoy from the sovereign of Barcelona and Tarragona, to solicit peace ; which was

* His title of duke ; he is afterwards called by his proper name, Hugo. † A. C. 955 or 956.

‡ A. C. 958 or 959.

granted: and, after them, came an envoy from the sovereign of Rome, to court Annāsir's friendship; and this was conceded to him.

Annāsir appointed Mūsa-bn Muhammad to be his Hājib, or prime minister, and Abdulmaliki-bn Jahwar, as well as Ahmadu-bn Shahīd, to be his vizirs. The latter of these made, in the year 327, such a present to his sovereign as became famous for its magnitude, and as serves to shew the riches and greatness of the Muhammadan empire in Spain at that period. With this present, too, and the letter accompanying it, Annāsir was so delighted, that he doubled the salary of vizir to him, making it eighty thousand dinars,* exalted him above all the other vizirs, gave him the title of Dhūlvizāratāin, or Lord of the double Vizārat, honoured him with the first seat, and placed his name at the head of the roll of officers of state.

This present,† according to Ibn Khaldūn, consisted of five hundred thousand mithcāls of coined gold; four hundred pounds of virgin gold, worth in exchange forty five thousand dinars; twelve pounds of rare Indian wood of aloes, that would bear an impression like wax; one hundred and eighty pounds of choice wood of aloes, and one hundred pounds of precious wood of the same sort: Ibnu-l Farazy, however, who refers to the list delivered in by Ibn Shahīd, says that there were four hundred pounds of wood of aloes, of which one piece weighed a hundred and eighty pounds. One hundred ounces of pure musk of an excellent quality, according to Ibn Khaldūn: but Ibnu-l Farazy, copying from the list transmitted with the articles, says, two hundred and twelve ounces. Five hundred ounces of pale native amber; of which there was one piece, perfect in shape, of the wonderful size of one hundred ounces; according to Ibn Khaldūn: but Ibnu-l Farazy says, one hundred ounces in all; of which one piece weighed forty ounces. Three hundred ounces of pure camphor of the choicest quality. Ibn Khaldūn also says, thirty robes and a quantity of silk,

* Cardonne, however, says "one hundred thousand dinars:" but whence did he get the information?

† Cardonne and other writers have mentioned some of these articles: the present, however, will be found here more particularly enumerated.

printed and embroidered with gold, of various colours, for the dress of the Khalif; and ten dresses, or vests, of Khurasānian martin skins: Ibnu-l Farazy, however, differs from him in saying, robes of various kinds, intended for the Khalif's own use, part white and part coloured, thirty; five badges (or ornaments of dress), peculiar to the Shaīb sect, and suitable to the Khalif; ten vests of martin skins, seven of them white from Khurasān, and three coloured; six square Irākian dresses proper for the Khalif; forty-eight Zahry upper garments for his daily use, and one hundred of the same manufacture for sleeping in: and, as Ibnu-l Farazy drew his information from the very schedule of the presents, delivered with them, his statement is the most deserving of our belief. One hundred sable skins, which both authors allow; but Ibn Khaldūn adds, one Irākian curtain (to be hung before the seat of the Khalif); and forty-eight dresses of the manufacture of Baghdad, made of silk and gold, for the clothing of horses. Then both authors say, four thousand pounds of spun silk; one thousand pounds of choice coloured silk, for spinning: Ibn Khaldūn adds, thirty pieces of — (term unknown) for saddles. Thirty carpets of different manufactures; each of which was twenty cubits in length. One hundred carpets used in the office of prayer. Fifteen Nūkha* of a silk manufacture, having the face of it shorn. Of arms, Ibn Khaldūn says eight hundred suits of armour for horses, to adorn them on processions and public exhibitions: but, Ibnu-l Farazy says, one hundred suits of armour for horses, of the most rare and perfect workmanship. One thousand regal† shields. One hundred thousand arrows of a most excellent sort. Fifteen select Arabian horses of the choicest qualities for the Sultan's own riding, according to Ibn Khaldūn: Ibnu-l Farazy, however, says, one hundred horses; of which fifteen were choice Arabians, for the Sultan's own use; five others, decked with harness proper for him to ride on, the seats of the saddles being Irākian velvet; and the other eighty were suitable for attendants and servants. Ibn Khal-

* This word may be of the same import as the Persian *nakh*, which means a sort of carpet worked or raised on both sides.

† Or shields of the manufacture of Sultānia; which description appears most probable.

dūn says, one hundred horses trained for military excursions and for war. Ibnu-l Farazy says, five tall mules: but Ibn Khaldūn says, twenty mules for riding on, fully caparisoned in the style of the Khalif, the seats of their saddles being of Irākian velvet, embroidered with gold. Forty choice male slaves, and twenty females, with their clothing and utensils: in regard to the females, Ibn Khaldūn says, "select, "with their dresses and ornaments." Ten hundred weight of fine lump sugar. A villa, with its domain, in the sowing of which some thousands of measures of grain had been expended by the giver; and, the stone for the buildings erected on it, had cost in one year eighty thousand dinārs; with twenty thousand trees of the finest and most durable wood, and very straight, the worth of which was fifty thousand dinārs. Besides these articles, Ibn Shahīd presented Annāsir with a Christian boy, so handsome, that eye had not beheld his like before; and, after that, he sent him a maid, the most beautiful of women.

Annāsir Lidīnillāh died on the second or third of Ramazān in the year 350,* aged seventy-three years; when his authority was at the highest pitch; and the faith, through his sway, most exalted. He is said to have left in his treasuries five thousand millions of money; † and, to have appropriated his revenues in the following manner; namely, one third to his army; one third to building; and, the remaining third to be reserved in his treasury. The annual revenue of Spain, from the towns and villages, is reported to have amounted in his days to five millions four hundred and eighty thousand dinars; and, from spoils in war, seven hundred and sixty-five thousand dinars; besides a fifth of the great plunder made by his soldiers, which was not comprised in the register of his treasury.

It is said that this prince, in a paper written with his own hand, mentioned the days on which he experienced pure happiness; and, on numbering them, they were found to amount to no more than fourteen.

* About the 27th of October 961 of Christ. The Spanish historian Mariana, however, says that this prince died in 959 of Christ, answering to 350 of the Hijra; but he is doubtless wrong in this, as well as in many other of his calculations respecting the two eras.

† Perhaps, dirhems may be understood.

“Note this” (says our author) “thou man of understanding, and
 “mark how small a portion of real happiness the world affords, even
 “in the most favourable circumstances! The Khalif Annāsir, the heir
 “of prosperity, whose eminence in the world and whose ascension in
 “empire are proverbial, found, in a reign of fifty years seven months
 “and three days, only fourteen days of undisturbed enjoyment. Praise
 “to Him who possesses eternal glory and ever-during sway! There
 “is no God but He!”

On the death of Annāsir, his son, Alhakam ul Mustansir Billāh, succeeded to the Khilāfat: and he received the oath of allegiance from his officers and people at the palace of Azzahrā, seated on the throne in the central Bahv* of the eastern golden hall, which is on the polished esplanade. At this ceremony, the principal attendants wore white facings on their dress, in token of mourning.†

Following the steps of his father in conduct and government, Alhakam constituted Jaafaru-s Siklaby his Hājib; who presented to him, on the day of his appointment, amongst other things, one hundred European Mamlūks,‡ mounted on swift horses, with their armour and arms, consisting of swords, spears, shields, targets, and Indian caps, complete: upwards of three hundred and twenty coats of mail of different kinds: three hundred helmets in like sort: one hundred iron Indian helmets: fifty Indian helmets of wood: some European helmets not of wood, and called Attashtāna: three hundred European javelins: one hundred Sultānian shields: ten silver coats of mail gilt: and twenty buffalos' horns gilt.

As soon as the Gallicians were apprised of the death of Annāsir, they began to attack the frontiers; but Alhakam, having headed his army

* There seems no English term corresponding to this Arabic word, which sometimes means, as it may here do, “the space between two rows of columns in an edifice:” so that the term *nave*, when applied to the central walk of a Gothic church, approaches near to it in that sense, and is not very remote from it in sound.

† Contrary to the custom of their eastern brethren, who wore black in mourning, the Mahometans of Spain used white dresses on such an occasion.

‡ So called in the original.

in person, invaded the territory of Ferdinand (Count of Castille); and, having laid siege to St. Estevan, he obliged it to yield, and razed it to the ground: after which he returned; and the Gallicians, being disappointed of the hope they had begun to entertain, made peace with him.

Then he dispatched, against the territory of Galicia, his servant Ghālib; who encountered and defeated the enemy. Afterwards, the army entered the land of Ferdinand, and spoiled it. On the defection of Sancho, King of Navarre, moreover, from the treaty by which he was bound, Alhakam sent against him Attājiby, governor of Saragossa; who defeated him, together with his ally the King of Galicia; and, when these had taken refuge in Coria, the army wasted the country around, and retired from it. Then, Alhakam sent Ibn Ahmad and Attājiby against Barcelona; the territory of which they spoiled: he, moreover, dispatched Ibn Hāshim and his servant Ghālib into the land of the Count (of Castille); which they wasted. Thus, the victories of Alhakam and of the governors on the frontiers, were great: and, amongst the principal of these may be reckoned the capture of Calahorra in Navarre, by Ghālib; which Alhakam rebuilt and fortified: also, that of Catūnia (or Catūbia) by the governor of Huesca; in which place he gained money, arms, provisions, and stores; besides the sheep, oxen, draught horses, articles of food, and captives, which were without number in its territory.

In the year 354,* Ghālib again invaded the country of Ilia,† in company with Attājiby and Kāsimu-bn Dhilnūn; when he took the fortress of Gormaz,‡ and subdued the territory. In the same year, the ships of the Majūs (Normans) appeared again on the ocean; and they ravaged the open country about Lisbon: but, on battle being offered

* A. C. 965.

† This is a very doubtful word, though often used in the original. In some parts it is translated "Leon;" but, from the mention of Gormaz, as appertaining to that territory, it seems to include the province of Soria.

‡ The Arabic word here translated "Gormaz," may also be read Azmāj, and it may perhaps mean Osma.

to them by the people there, they returned to the vessels from which they had disembarked. Alhakam, however, dispatched his commanders to protect the coasts: and he directed his admiral, Abdurrahmān, to hasten the sailing of the fleet; but intelligence arrived, in the mean time, of their having been repelled by the army from every quarter where they had landed.

At the close of the month Safar of the year 351, came Ordoño, son of Alonso, King of the Gallicians, to Alhakam's court. For Annāsir had supported against him Sancho, son of his uncle Ramiro; who possessed the throne before Ordoño; and, whom the Christians were most disposed to obey: but, Ordoño sought to prevail over him by the assistance of his father-in-law, Ferdinand Count of Castille. Protection had, therefore, been granted by Alhakam to Sancho, in the same manner as Annāsir had acted towards him. Ordoño, however, hastened to Alhakam, to solicit his support; and the latter received him with all the pomp and state before exhibited on similar occasions: he, moreover, stipulated to assist him, on condition of his withdrawing himself from the Count, and becoming the ally of the Mahometans. To confirm this agreement, the Khalif reached out to him his hand; and Ordoño pledged his son, Garcias, as a hostage. He was, therefore, dismissed, with presents to himself and to his followers: and the principal Christians, who lived under the protection of the Khalif, returned with Ordoño to establish his authority among his subjects, and to receive the hostage stipulated. At this, Sancho, son of Ordoño's uncle, Ramiro, sent to acknowledge his submission, as well as that of the Counts and Bishops of the people of Galicia and Zamora, and to solicit the Khalif's acceptance of it; urging, in behalf of his suit, the line of conduct which Annāsir had held towards him. To this application Alhakam assented on certain conditions; one of which was, that he should destroy the forts and castles situate in the vicinity of the Musalmān frontiers. Afterwards, the two Princes of Barcelona, Tarragona, and other places, solicited a renewal of the treaty of peace, as it existed before: and they sent, by way of presents, twenty castrated Slavonian boys, besides a quantity of sable skins, European swords, &c. which the

Khalif accepted. Peace was then concluded with them, on condition that they should destroy such forts as were productive of mischief to the Musalmān frontiers; and that they should endeavour to deter other Christians from spoiling and taking captive the Moslems. Ambassadors, moreover, came from Garcias, son of Sancho, king of Navarre, with a number of bishops and counts, to solicit peace; which also was granted, notwithstanding the procrastination and deceit which that prince had manifested. The mother of Roderic, son of Bilask,* the great count in the west of Gallicia, also came; and Alhakam, having first dispatched the officers of his court to meet her, received her in state, and assented to the peace she requested in behalf of her son. This lady was mounted on a swift mule; her bridle and saddle were laden with gold; and the covering of the steed was made of silk, embroidered with gold. At bidding her farewell, the Khalif received her a second time in state; and, though presents had before been made to her and to her attendants, yet they were repeated at her departure.

But it was not in Spain alone that Alhakam's power was felt and acknowledged. Having transported his armies to the opposite shore of Africa, he subdued the most western part, as well as the middle provinces of that continent, so that the princes of his time, from Maghrāva and Maknāsa,* owned his supremacy; and prayers were offered up for him in their states, as the chief of their religion. Such of the Banū Hirz and the Banu-l Aafia, too, as came to him, he treated with liberality and honour; but he deposed the Banū Idrīs from their flourishing kingdom; and, having first removed them to Cordova, he afterwards transported them from that city to Alexandria.

Alhakam befriended the sciences, and honoured the learned. He was, moreover, a greater collector of books than any of the sovereigns, his predecessors. It is recorded on good authority, that the catalogue of the names of the books in this Khalif's library, filled forty-four volumes; in each of which, twenty leaves were taken up with the mere

* Probably Velasquez.

† These are names of cities or states in the western part of Africa: the latter is generally written Mequinesa; and is about one day's journey distant from Fez.

names of poetical works. For learning and learned men, Alhakam had established so celebrated an emporium, that it attracted the productions of every clime. To his father's court had, indeed, come from Baghdad, Abū Aliyi-l Kāly, author of the work, called Kitābu-l Amāly; who, being welcomed by Annāsir, had imparted his knowledge to the people of Spain: but he was particularly attached to Alhakam; who neglected not to profit by his instruction.

This Khalif, also, employed merchants to collect books for him in distant countries, till a quantity, beyond all expectation, was conveyed to Spain. To Abū-l Faraji-l Isfahāny, author of the work, called Alaghāny,* in which Alhakam's genealogy was given, he sent one thousand golden dinārs, and was furnished with a copy of it, previous to its being made public in Irāk. With Abū Bakri-l Abhary, too, he acted in the same liberal manner, for his commentary on Ibn Abdilhakam's epitome, &c. He gathered together, moreover, and employed in his own house, those who were best skilled in transcribing, binding, and ornamenting books: and such biblical treasures were amassed in Spain as no one possessed before, or after him; unless, indeed, regard be had to the reports circulated with respect to the Khalif Annāsir of the house of Alabbās. These books remained in the palace of Cordova till, at the siege of that city by the Barbarians, most of them were brought forth and sold by the order of the Hājib Wāzih, and the rest were plundered on the capture of the place.

But Alhakam did not form this vast collection of books for the sake of mere parade: he preferred the pleasure of reading them to all the enjoyments which royalty could afford. In the knowledge of biography, history, and genealogy, he was most eminent and incomparable: owing to these circumstances, there were but few books in his immense library, for it is said to have contained no less than four hundred thousand volumes, of which he had not investigated the subject, and written in them the genealogies, births, and deaths of the authors. Through his intense application, however, to the perusal of these works, which he

* A very copious and much esteemed biographical work.

had even exhausted his treasury in procuring, his eye-sight became so much injured, that he was at last forced to relinquish this his favourite pursuit. Many were the masters under whom he had studied. But learning was not his only boast; he was liberal in manners, respectful to those who approached him, active in business, and sincere. He was, moreover, so averse to wine, that he forcibly endeavoured to abolish the use of it in his dominions.

After being confined to his bed for some time, in consequence of apoplexy, Alhakam died, in the palace of Cordova, on the second of the month Safar, in the year 366,* in the sixteenth year of his reign.

After Alhakam, his son Hishām, surnamed Almuwaiyad, came to the throne, at the age of nine years. But, Muhammadu-bn Aby Aamir, whom Alhakam had promoted from the rank of Cādhy to that of Vizīr, and raised to great power, succeeded in his intrigues against the youthful Hishām, so as to usurp all authority in the state. This design he accomplished through the aid of Jaafaru-l Mashafy, the young Khalif's Hājib, and of Ghālib governor of Medina Celi, together with the eunuchs of the palace: and, by their assistance, he first slew Almughīra, brother of Alhakam and the supporter† of Hishām's sway. Then he plotted against the great officers of the state, and set them at variance; so that they attacked, weakened, and slew each other. Some person from among the Yemenians, too, retraced the entrance, with Tārik, into Spain, of Ibn Abū Aamir's ancestor, Abdulmalik, who was a great man amongst his tribe, and had some share in the conquest. This circumstance Abū Aamir took care to magnify; and, having forced Hishām to submit to his control, he prohibited all the Vizīrs from approaching him, except on particular days; when they were allowed merely to salute the Khalif, and then to depart. The army he gained by munificence; the learned he exalted in rank; and the seditious he suppressed by force: being himself wise, provident, brave, experienced

* About the 30th of September, A. C. 976.

† The historian Ibnu-l Athīr, however, says that Almughīra was slain on account of his aspiring to the throne: and the same author states the age of Hishām to be ten years at his beginning to reign.

in war and steadfast in religion. Shortly, without any authority from Hishām, or even without his knowledge, he dispatched forces against such officers of the state as conspired against, or opposed, him, and removed them from their offices: and he further contrived to make those who stood in his way slay each other, till he had totally eradicated them. In the first place, he instigated the Hājib, Almashafy, against the Slavonian eunuchs who served in the palace; so that they, to the number of more than eight hundred,* were expelled by that minister. Next, he contracted an alliance with Ghālib, freed-man of the late Khalif, by marrying his daughter: the ceremony on which occasion was the grandest that had been witnessed in Spain: and by flattery and artifice he obtained Ghālib's aid in attacking Almashafy, whose influence in the state he entirely abolished. Then he removed Ghālib, by means of Jaafaru-bn Aly and others: and Jaafar he killed through the assistance of Abdulwadūd, Ibn Jahwar, Ibn Dhilnūn, and others, who were the chiefs of the Arabs in the state. Having thus set aside all from whom he might expect opposition or competition in the government, he began to turn his views to the army; the privates as well as officers of which he collected from the Barbarians and other people on the continent of Africa. When these preparations were accomplished, he removed Hishām by force from the throne: and, being in full possession of the government, he maintained all the greatness of the Khalifs without the support of their prerogatives. He renewed the war with the unbelievers; removed the Arabs from their posts of honour; advanced the strangers, whom he had invited from Africa; and, acted as he thought fit in the plenitude of sovereignty and with absolute sway. He, moreover, built for himself a city,† which he called Azzāhira; lodged in it the treasures and military stores; and, assuming the title of Alhājibu-l Mansūr, he caused himself to be addressed in the royal style. Public instructions, proclamations, and commands were issued in his name; prayers were, by his order, offered up for him in the places of public worship, after those for the Khalif;

* These eunuchs seem to have formed the Khalif's body guard.

† Or rather, perhaps, in the European idiom "a Palace."

his name was impressed on the coins and the seals of state ; he appointed his own ministers ; constituted the army of Barbars and Mamlūks ;* and surrounded himself with a multitude of slaves and guards to secure his power, and to overwhelm every competitor : so that no appendage of royalty, except the mention of his name in the public prayers, was left to Hishām.

Having thus firmly established his dominion at home, Almansūr led in person his armies† to the field : and, during his reign, he fought fifty-six battles, without a single failure in any military enterprise, or the defeat of even a detachment of his army. But, besides the expeditions he directed in Spain, he transported his forces to Africa, and subdued the princes of Barbary, conquering one by the aid or means of another : so that the sovereignty of that region was lodged in his hands ; the chiefs of the various provinces shrinking before him and submitting to his sway. His son, Abdulmalik, he sent over to Africa, to the Maghrāva princes in Fez : and on Zīriyu-bn Atīya (their sovereign's) refusal to assent to the demand of money made on him, and to acquiesce in the curtailment of his appointment, as well as in the seclusion of the Khalif, Hishām, Abdulmalik deprived him of the sovereignty of Fez ; and granted all the provinces of the western part of Africa, comprising Sijilmassa and other places, to the princes of Zanāta. Previously to his returning to Cordova, Abdulmalik appointed Wāzih, viceroy over the west of Africa.

Almansūr added much to the great mosque in Cordova : he also built the bridge over the great river Carcaba,‡ which he began in 378, and finished in 399, at the expense of one hundred and forty thousand dinars ; and another, with great labour, over the river at Ecija.

In his forty-eighth expedition against the unbelievers, this prince took the city of St. Jago, in the remotest part of Gallicia, to which

* Meaning, as the term does when applied to the force of the same name maintained in Egypt, slaves employed in military service.

† At a review of his assembled troops without the city of Cordova, Almansūr is said to have mustered, on one occasion, two hundred thousand horse and six hundred thousand foot.

‡ What river is this name intended for ? can it be the Ebro ?

none of the Musalmān sovereigns had before penetrated. The church in that place is regarded by Europeans with veneration, equal to that which the Mahometans entertain for the Caaba; because the body of James, brother of Jesus, and bishop of Jerusalem, is supposed to be buried there. On this expedition Almansūr departed from Cordova on Saturday, the twenty-third of the latter Jumādy, in 387,* and having fitted out a fleet with provisions and arms to meet him at Oporto, he directed his march by Coria to that city, and arrived at St. Jago, on Wednesday, the second of Shaaban.† Finding the place deserted by all its inhabitants, except one old monk, who was sitting on the tomb of St. James, the Moslems collected the booty, and destroyed the walls, houses, and church; but the tomb, which was of rare workmanship, as well as the old monk, was spared and protected by Almansūr. From this place the army proceeded to the island of St. Mābalas, the extremity of the country to which the Moslems never attained before; and Almansūr then directed his march through the country of Bomond, son of Ordōno, which he wasted till he reached the territories of the confederate counts who were with him. These districts he spared; and, on his arrival at the fortress of Balkīa, he put dresses on the counts, as well as on their followers, and dismissed them to their respective countries.

Many anecdotes are related of the strictness with which this prince caused justice to be administered, and of the astonishing subordination he introduced into his army. With respect to the latter, not only were his men steady and submissive at parade, but rarely was a horse known to neigh at it: happening, however, one day to perceive a sword glitter at an improper time in the farthest part of the field, he immediately caused the man who had drawn it to be brought before him. Being asked the reason of this disorderly act, the man sought to excuse himself by saying, that “he had only pointed it, sheathed, at his comrade, and it had chanced to fall out.” Almansūr, however, observed, that the affair was of such a nature as could not admit of excuse; and having commanded him to be decapitated, he caused his

* About the third of July, A. C. 997.

† About the 10th of August.

head to be carried about and exhibited to all the army ; proclamation at the same time being made of his offence.

When his empire was at the highest pitch, and his sway uncontrolled, Almansūr died on his return from a war, which he conducted against the Franks, in the month Safar of the year 392,* according to some, or in the year 394 according to others ; and his body was borne on the heads of his men, till they reached Medina Celi, where he was buried, after a government of twenty-six or twenty-seven years,† according to the different chronologies given of him. In all his military expeditions against the Christians, this monarch made a practice of collecting into a bag whatever dust might adhere to his face : and he directed by will, that it should be used at his death, with the articles of perfume which he kept always ready, in preparing his body for the tomb. His shroud, also, he constantly took with him ; and, that it might not be the acquisition of injustice in any respect, it was formed of materials produced on his paternal inheritance, and spun by his own daughters.

Almansūr was succeeded by his son, Abdulmaliku-l Muzaffar, who pursued the steps of his father in government and warlike enterprise. His days were days of festivity ; but after a victorious reign of seven years, he died in the month Muharram of the year 399,‡ or, as some say, in the year preceding.

During Abdulmalik's reign, Almoaz, son of Zīry, king of Maghrāva, having, after the death of his father, regained Fez and the western part of Africa, was established in the government of that country, on his applying to Abdulmalik for confirmation of his authority.

At the decease of Abdulmalik, his brother, Abdurrahmān, surnamed

* In the latter part of November, or beginning of December, 1001. of Christ.

† In one year of this prince's reign, there was so great a famine at Cordova, that the Arroba, or quarter of a hundred weight of flour, was sold for two dinars. On the very day, however, that he had occasion to make a feast for the purification of his son, Abdurrahmān, the sky became charged with clouds, and the rain descended abundantly ; so that, from the prospect of returning plenty, the inhabitants began on that day to regain their cheerfulness.

‡ September, 1008 of Christ

Annāsir Lidīnillāh, or, as some say, Almāmūn, assumed the government. At first, he imitated the conduct of his father and brother, in excluding Hishām; but, afterwards, he adopted the design of restoring the fallen Khilāfat, and solicited the Khalif Hishām to appoint him heir apparent to that dignity: in compliance with which request, the latter nominated him such by a public act, dated in the first Rabīa of the year 398. This step, however, irritated against him the great men of the state, and was the occasion of his death, as well as of the subversion of his family: for, during his absence at the war in Gallicia, the people of Cordova rebelled, killed the commander of the guards in his residence at the gate of the palace of the Khilāfat, deposed Hishām, and inaugurated Muhammad, son of Hishām, son of Abduljabbār, Khalif; surnaming him Almuḥdy Billāh. When intelligence of this change reached Abdurrahmān, who was then on the frontiers, he returned towards the metropolis, confident in his own influence and power: on his approach, however, to Cordova, the soldiers of his army and the chiefs of the Barbarians stole away from him; and, joining Almuḥdy in the city, they excited the latter against him, as an imprudent, evil-disposed person, unfit to command: and, happening to fall into the hands of some who were disaffected towards him, they struck off his head, and conveyed it to the Khalif.

Though the Barbar and Zanāta chiefs had attached themselves to Almuḥdy, on account of the bad management and declining fortune of Abdurrahmān, yet the faction of the house of Ummayya reproached them with the assistance they had given to Almansūr so as to enable him to seize the government; and with the support they had continued to afford his sons. The hearts of the populace, too, were enraged against them to such a degree, that had it not been for the great number of their followers, they would at once have been exterminated. Not only, however, did the people express their hatred of them, but the Khalif forbade their riding on horseback or carrying arms; some of them were even refused admission at the gate of the palace, and the houses of others were plundered by the mob. On this occasion, though Almuḥdy made an apology to them and caused to be executed such as were suspected

of invading their property, yet his dislike of them was notorious ; as well as the inadequate manner in which he rewarded them for their assistance. It was, moreover, intimated to them that Almuḥdy meant to proscribe them : the most resolute, therefore, met in secret and consulted together on making Hishām son of Sulaimān, Khalif. This circumstance being divulged to the heads of the government, they immediately seized the opportunity of accomplishing their purpose by exciting the mob against the Barbaras, and forcing them to quit the city. They, also, laid hands on Hishām, with his brother Abū Bakr, and brought them to Almuḥdy ; who caused them to be beheaded : but, Sulaimān, son of their brother, Alhakam, had taken refuge in the army of the Barbaras, which was assembled on the outside of Cordova. Being indignant at Almuḥdy, the Barbaras then proclaimed Sulaimān as Khalif, giving him the honorary name of Almustāin Billāh ; and departed with him to the frontiers of Toledo, where they solicited and obtained the aid of the son of Alfonsus.* United with his forces, the Barbaras returned to Cordova ; and, encountering Almuḥdy, who had led out against them the people of the city and the principal men of the state, they defeated him, and slew more than twenty thousand of his followers ; amongst the slain being many of the chiefs of the land, and the ministers of the great mosque. This battle took place about the end of the year 400 ; † when Almustāin entered Cordova ; and his opponent, in turn, betaking himself to Toledo, obtained the assistance of the son of Alfonsus.‡ Almuḥdy then led an army back to Cordova ; and, on his approach, Almustāin, with the Barbaras, fled to Akabatu-l Bakar, without the city ; whence they spread themselves over the open country and plundered it at discretion. In a little time, however, they directed their march towards Algesiras ; but, being pursued by Almuḥdy, with the Christians, they turned back on their pursuers, and having defeated them in battle, followed them to Cordova. In this crisis of affairs, Almuḥdy brought forth Hishāmu-l Muwaiyad, took the oath of allegiance to him, and assumed for himself the office of Hājib, imagining that this

* Sancho, Count of Castile.

† August 1010 of Christ.

‡ More likely of some other Christian princes, as related by Mariana.

expedient might be of use to his cause: but such was not the event; for the inhabitants, fearing that the besiegers would storm the city, excited the people of the palace and the attendants of Almuwaiyad to attack Almuḥdy, who was slain in the commotion.

The people of Cordova then rallied round Almuwaiyad; and, Wāziḥu-l Aamiry, who had been the chief mover of the attack on Almuḥdy, was appointed Hājib. The siege of the city, however, was continued; but no impression was made on it, till the villages and open country around being wasted, the necessaries of life failed, and the blockade became very severe. In this state of things, Almustāin sought the assistance of the Castillians: but Hishām and his Hājib, Wāziḥ, sent an embassy to prevent the success of this application, by offering to give up all the strong places on the frontiers of Castille, which Almansūr had conquered; and this measure diverted the Count from his design of joining Almustāin. The latter, however, maintained the siege, till in the year 403 * the city was obliged to surrender; when Hishām was privately slain, and the conquerors avenged the cause of their wives and children on the inhabitants of the place.†

Almustāin now thought his power fully established; but, the Barbarians and the servants of the Khalif seized the governments of the great cities, and obtained the appointments of rulers over extensive provinces; as did Bādīs in Granada, Albarzāly in Carmona, Harūn in Xeres, and others in like manner: in a short time, the bond of empire became so loose, that the descendants of the noble families established themselves, as independant princes, in different parts of the country; thus, Ibn Abbād fixed himself in Seville; Ibnu-l Aftas, in Badajos; Ibn Dhīlnūn, in Toledo; Ibn Aby Aamir, in Valencia; Ibn Hūd, in Saragossa; Mujāhidu-l Aamiry, in Denia; and the like.

In this contention for dominion, Aliyu-bn Hamūd, who was a descendant of Idrīs, King of Fez, and founder of that city, having, as well as his brother Kāsim, crossed the straits with the Barbarians to

* Which began on the 23d of July 1012.

† It is elsewhere remarked that the decay of Cordova began on this occasion; many of its ornaments and principal buildings being then demolished by the Barbarians.

Spain, set up his claim to royalty ; and, being supported by his countrymen, he took possession of Cordova in the year 407,* when the learned and eloquent Almustāin was slain. On obtaining possession of the throne, Aly took the surname of Annāsir ; but that part of the army which was composed of slaves, together with some of the people from Africa, in a little while rose up against him, and inaugurated Almutazy, brother of Almuḥdy : shortly afterwards, however, Almutazy was dispatched, and Aliyu-bn Hamūd occupied the government nearly two years ; during the first eight months of which he acted with laudable energy in correcting the licentiousness of the people, especially of the Barbars : on learning, however, that the Andalusians, who could not tolerate the rule of the family of Hamūd, on account of the Barbars, had raised up Almutazy, son of Abdurrahmān, in the eastern part of the country, with the design of restoring the sovereignty to the house of Marwān, he changed his conduct entirely, laboured to depopulate Cordova and to destroy its inhabitants, endeavoured to prevent the future restoration of sovereignty to their Imāms in it, connived at the rapacity and oppression of the Barbars, insulted and plundered the chief men of the place, and not only expelled the people, but demolished the buildings, so that the ruin of the city proceeded with as much rapidity as it had before done at the worst times : the affections of men became of course universally estranged from him ; and, on the tenth of the month Dhū-l Kaada in the year 408,† he was murdered in the bath by three Slavonians, after reigning near two years, or twenty-one months and six days, as some have asserted.

Kāsim, an elder brother of Aly, then seized the government, and was surnamed Almāmūn. From his proximity, as governor of Seville, to Cordova, he anticipated his deceased brother's son Yahya, who ruled at Ceuta ; but the Barbars, to whom Yahya appealed for the rights of his father, inclined to him. Having, therefore, conveyed an army over to Malaga, where his brother Idrīs had ruled, since the death of their father, he sent his brother to Ceuta ; and, on his advance to Cordova, Kāsim fled, when he entered it on the 28th of Rabīu-l Ākhir in

* Which began on the 10th of June, 1016.

† About the 30th March A. C. 1018.

412,* and assumed the sovereignty, as well as the name Almuataly. His uncle, Almāmūn, however, escaped to Seville; where he was acknowledged by the Cādhy Ibn Abbād; and, having collected there an army of Barbars, he returned the following year to Cordova, which he regained on the 19th of Dhū-l Kaada, in the absence of Almuataly at Malaga. The latter then made himself master of Algesiras: and his brother Idrīs got possession of Tangiers in Africa; which city Almāmūn had fortified as a place of refuge for himself, and in which he had lodged his treasures. The intelligence of this event troubled him greatly: and the people of Cordova, rebelling against him, abolished his government there; and, on the 15th of the month Ramazān in the year 414, inaugurated Abdurrahmān, brother of Almuahdy, as Khalif, by the title of Almustazhar Billāh. In consequence of which, he besieged that city, but in vain. He then retired again to Seville; but as Ibn Abbād had assumed the government of that place, he was refused admittance; and his son, whom he had left there, was brought out and delivered to him. Almāmūn next proceeded to Xeres; but the Barbars quitted him and joined Almuataly, whom they inaugurated Khalif in 415: afterwards, the latter took his uncle, Almāmūn, captive in an engagement, and kept him in prison at Malaga till the year 427, when he died, either a natural death, or, as some say, by strangulation: and his children, also, he confined in like manner.

Almustazhar enjoyed the throne at Cordova only forty-seven days; when Muhammad son of Abdurrahmān, son of Ubaidullah, of the same family of Ummāiya, slew him and seized the government there under the name of Almustakfy: but, after a reign of sixteen months, the people of Cordova deposed him, and in the year 416 submitted to Almuataly, abovementioned, of the house of Hamūd, who appointed Ibn Atāf,† his governor over them. In the following year, however, they revolted against Almuataly; and the Vizīr, Abū Muhammad, son of Jahwar, who was the chief man in Cordova, took the oath of allegiance to Hishām son of Muhammad, brother of Almurtazy, in the year 418: but, owing to intestine civil disturbances, he did not return from Lerida

* About the 10th of August, A. C. 1021.

† Or, perhaps, Itāf.

on the frontiers, whither he had repaired, till the year 420; when he assumed the government at Cordova under the honorary name of Almuatidd Billāh. Against him Almuatāly then sent forces, and besieged the city of Cordova, till in 426 the army deposed Hishām; who fled back to Lerida, where he died in 428: and with him was finally extinguished the dynasty of the house of Ummāiya in Spain, which had continued from the year 138 of the Hijra to the death of Hishām, a period of two hundred and ninety years.

CHAPTER IV.

ACCOUNT OF THE MAHOMETANS IN SPAIN, FROM THE EXTINCTION OF
THE DYNASTY OF UMMAIYA, TILL THE FALL OF GRANADA.

Contentions for the Throne—Muhammadan Power in Spain divided into petty Kingdoms—The Banū Abbād, Kings of Seville—The Banū Dhīlnūn, Kings of Toledo—Sovereigns of Saragossa—Of Badajos—War between Alfonso King of Castille and Leon, and Ibn Abbād Sovereign of Seville—Battle between the Christians and Moslems—Alfonso totally defeated—Battle of Alark—Alfonso again defeated—Almutawakkil, an encourager of Literature—His Authority contested—Successes of Ferdinand King of Castille—Revolutions in the Kingdom of Granada—Further successes of Ferdinand—The Christians defeated before Granada—Gibraltar taken from the Christians—Further Successes of the Christians—Indolence of Abū'l Hasan, Sovereign of Granada—Contests respecting the Succession—The Christians defeated at Malaga—Defeat of the Moslems—Successes of Ferdinand—Civil War in Granada—Velez besieged, and captured by the Christians—Siege of Malaga—Rapid Successes of Ferdinand—Granada besieged—The City surrenders—Terms of the Capitulation—Persecutions of the Moslems by Ferdinand.

ON the deposition of Hishām from the sovereignty at Cordova, as before mentioned, Almuatally regained possession of that city; and, his authority continued unshaken, till his adherents, at the instigation of Ibn Abbād, the usurper at Seville, slew him in the year 429.* Idrīs, surnamed Almutaiyad, brother of the deceased, was then called to the throne, and he dispatched his forces against Ismāelu-bn Abbād, with whose head they returned, after some actions: but he himself died two days subsequent to this, in the year 431.

* Beginning on the 14th October 1037 of Christ.

At his decease, his son Yahya was proclaimed, but his authority was not established; and Almustansir, son of Almuataly, was raised to the throne: the first died at Comāres, whither he had fled, having (it is said) been privately assassinated; the latter perished by poison, which Yahya's sister is reported to have given him, out of revenge for her brother. Idrīs, son of Almuataly, was then brought out of prison at Malaga, and acknowledged sovereign there, as well as at Granada and Carmona; but this prince, surnamed Alaaly, was deposed in the year 438; and his cousin, Almuahdy, was raised to the throne. At the decease of the latter, which took place in 444, allegiance was sworn to Idrīs, surnamed Almuwaffak; but he was never recognised as Khalif; and the deposed Alaaly, having returned from Comares to Malaga, resumed the government, and let loose his mercenary soldiers* on the inhabitants, whom he hated, so that many people fled from that city. Alaaly died in 446 or 447, when Muhammad son of Idrīs was proclaimed by the title of Almustaaly; but, in 449, he was forced from Malaga by Idrīs son of Hubūn; and fleeing to Almeria, he was invited thence to Melilla, where he retired and continued as sovereign of that place till his death in 460.†

When Kāsim, son of Hamūd, surnamed Almāmūn, was imprisoned at Malaga in the year 414, his son Muhammad escaped from confinement to Algesiras, of which he assumed the sovereignty; and, taking the name Almuatasim, he continued to rule there till his death in 440:‡ afterwards, his son Kāsimu-l Wāthik governed till he died in 450.§ Muatazadu-bn Abbād then got possession of Algesiras; and Ibn Juyūsh ruled at Malaga, though much straitened by Ibn Abbād.

In the year 456 of the Hijra (1064 of the Christian æra) Balbastro, in the country of Bartania near to Saragossa, was besieged and taken by the Christians. The inhabitants were obliged to surrender on ac-

* Rather slaves, formed into a standing army; for these princes kept such forces, as well to resist the Barbarians as the Andalusians: and, these slaves are sometimes described to be *blacks* from the interior of Africa.

† Beginning on the 11th of November, 1067 of Christ.

‡ Beginning 16th June, 1048.

§ Beginning 28th of February, 1058.

count of a stoppage of their aqueduct: and, after they had capitulated, fifty thousand of them were slain by the Christians. In the following year, however, the Moslems retook the city by storm.

The sovereignty of the land then became divided amongst the chiefs and Emirs of the Barbarians and Arabs; who were not only in a constant state of warfare amongst themselves, but who also sought the aid of the Christian despot against each other. Of the most celebrated of these petty dynasties was that of the Banū Abbād, who ruled over Seville and the western part of Andalusia: but the fame of Almuatamidū-bn Abbād of this house is so spread abroad both in the east and the west, as to require no comment. From the Banū Jahwar, who, under the appellation of Vizirs, ruled at Cordova, he conquered that city, and made his son governor of it: and other neighbouring princes, like Ibn Bādīs at Granada, Ibnu-l Aftas at Badajos, Ibn Sumādiḥ at Almeria, and others, he forced by war to solicit peace with him, and to study to court his favour. All these princes, however, sought to conciliate the Christian tyrant, and to ward off his attacks by paying tribute to him, till the arrival of Yūsufu-bn Tāsafīn, sovereign of Morocco; who extended his empire greatly, removed these princes, and became the protector of Andalusia.

Besides the kingdoms above-mentioned, into which the Mahometan power in Spain became divided, the Banū Dhīlnūn established a very considerable one at Toledo, on the interior frontier of the country; where they attained to the summit of luxury and pride. Almāmūn, of this house, whose power was become great among the neighbouring states, built a famous palace at Toledo, in which was a lake; and, in the midst of the lake, a vaulted room of stained glass, adorned with gold, over which a sheet of water was poured. Into that room the Prince could enter, untouched by the water, and sit with tapers burning, if desired. This Prince, also, gave a marriage feast, called Jadhāru-d Dhūnūny; which became as proverbially celebrated in the west, as that held by the Khalif Almāmūn, on his marriage with Būrān, is in the east: and he not only took Cordova from Ibn Abbād, whose son Abū Amrū he slew, as well as Valencia from the sons of Ibn Aby Aamir;

but, he had also many conflicts with the Christian despot. In the days, however, of Alkādiru-bn Dhīlnūn, grandson of Almāmūn, the power of the Tyrant becoming great, through the extinction of the Khilāfat, and the weakness of the Arabs, he siezed all the open country; and, after a siege of seven years, obliged Ibn Dhīlnūn to surrender Toledo on Tuesday the 10th of Muharram, or at the middle of that month, or on Wednesday the 1st of Safar, in 478; for there are such various dates given to this event. It is reported that the wheat, which had been preserved by the people of Toledo in store for fifty years, happened to spoil before they capitulated: and, when terms were agreed on, the sovereign Alkādir Billāh marched out in a most pitiable condition, with an astrolabe in his hand. Thence he proceeded to Valencia, which city Alfonsus had agreed to assist him in obtaining; but, notwithstanding the aid of the Christians, he fell in his attack on that place.

Another family, which attained to royalty, was that of the Banū Hūd, who reigned over Saragossa and its dependencies. The most renowned of this dynasty were Muktaḍir Billāh, and his son Yūsufu-l Mūtamin: the latter of whom was so devoted to the study of mathematics, that he wrote, amongst other books on that science, the work called Kitābu-l Istikmāl wa-l Munādir (book on keeping entire, and on comparison or equation.*) He died in the year in which Toledo fell, and was succeeded by his son, Almustāin Ahmad; under whom was fought the battle of Huesca in the year 489: when Almustāin, having advanced with his forces to relieve that place, which the Christian Tyrant was besieging, was defeated with the loss of nearly ten thousand men. Afterwards, this Prince fell in an engagement with the Tyrant, without the walls of Saragossa, in the year 503: † and he was succeeded by his son, Imāduddaula; but being expelled from Saragossa by the Christian in 512, ‡ Imāduddaula was followed in the government by Saifuddaula his son: this latter, however, was forced to yield his city to the Tyrant on the 4th of Ramazān in 512; § and, having removed with his family to Toledo, he died there.

* Apparently from these terms, on algebra.

† Which began on the 24th April, A. C. 1118.

‡ Beginning on the 31st July, 1109.

§ About the 19th of December in 1118 of Christ.

Of the Princes of the house of Alaftas, which reigned at Badajos, were Muzaffar, author of the work entitled Muzaffary, in near fifty volumes; and Mutawakkil, who was slain by the army of Yūsufu-bn Tāsafīn.

This monarch,* who had established a powerful dynasty in the western part of Africa, and built in that region the two cities of Marocco and Tilimsān, had been meditating a descent on Spain, and had prepared ships for the transporting of his army over the straits. On learning his design, the Moslem sovereigns of Spain were alarmed; as they were in some measure aware of the power and warlike abilities of Yūsuf; and they began to fear that they should be forced to contend not only with the Christians, to the north, but with the forces of Africa in the opposite direction: they, therefore, adopted the device of sending an embassy to Yūsuf, to entreat him to avoid passing through their territories, if he had determined to come over, as they were really under his dominion: Yūsuf, in return, gave them assurance of his protection, and promised them assistance against the common enemy. Being informed of this application to Yūsuf, Alfonso King of Castille and Leon resolved on attacking the Moslems; and he took from them many

* Mariana, the Spanish historian, gives an account of the origin of this prince, entitled to just as much credit as his genealogy of the houses of Ummaiya and Alabbās, which successively ruled over the Mahometans in Asia. The dynasty of Yūsuf is called that of the Banū Matūna. He was at first a comrade or follower of Abū Bakru-s Sanhājy, who led a people called Almulaththamūn, because they constantly wore veils or coverings over their faces, from the deserts on the south of Barbary, against the Zanāta tribe of Barbars, and subdued the land from Tilimsān to the shore of the ocean; after the conquest of Sigilmessa, however, which took place in the year 453 of the Hijra, Abū Bakr left Yūsuf as governor there, and returned to his native country. Yūsuf then pushed his conquests to the west, and subdued the Zanāta tribe of Barbars, who ruled at Fez and in the neighbouring districts of Africa. He built Marocco on a spot before famous as a receptacle for robbers, and made it the capital of his dominions. The term, Murābit (Moravides), generally applied to this dynasty, signifies bound together, "colleagued": but the appellation, Allamtūny, from the desert called Lamta or Lamtūna, whence these people seem to have come, is also given them. The reasons on which Mariana founds the origin of this war, seem, too, as far removed from the causes adduced here, as his account of the fate of Ibn Abbād is erroneous: for, this prince was not killed in battle, as the Spanish historian relates, but transported, with his wife and family, to Aghmāt, a town in the vicinity of Marocco, where he died. See also Cardonne, vol. ii. p. 144.

fortresses ; amongst which was the city of Toledo. After the reduction of that place, Alfonso felt himself so strong, that he refused to accept the customary tribute which Ibn Abbād, King of Cordova and Seville, in common with the other Moslem princes, paid him ; and he threatened to besiege Cordova, unless Ibn Abbād would surrender to him all the high-land forts, so that the Moslems should retain the open and low part of the country only : and his envoy, dispatched with this message, came accompanied by a large escort of near five hundred horse. Indignant at this proposal, Ibn Abbād, who had placed the officers of the escort under charge of his own people, commanded them to be killed ; and, calling the envoy into his presence, he beat him till his eyes fell out : only three of the attendants escaping to inform Alfonso, who was at that time advancing towards Cordova. On learning this unexpected occurrence, he returned to Toledo to strengthen his army and to collect machines and instruments for carrying on a siege. Another author, however, says that Ibn Abbād being engaged in war with Ibn Sumādiḥ, sovereign of Almeria, had delayed sending the tribute to Alfonso ; for which reason, the latter was so enraged when it arrived, that he demanded the cession of some forts in addition ; and, moreover, that his wife Constancia, who was then pregnant, should be allowed to reside in the palace of Azzahrā, which the Khalif, Annāsir Lidīnillāh, had built on the west side of Cordova, till her accouchement ; and that she should be allowed the use of the great mosque in that city, which occupied the ground where a church of great estimation among the Christians originally stood, for the purpose of her lying-in. Alfonso had been induced to make this demand at the instigation of the bishops and physicians ; who recommended the measure, that the Queen might enjoy the salubrity of Azzahrā, as well as the sanctity of the church, till she should be delivered. The negociator for this indulgence was a Jew,* one of Alfonso's ministers : and, when he not only ventured to

* Called by Ibnu-l Lubāna, Sālbib or Sālbab : and, that author describes the origin of the war in this manner. When, in the year 475, the Jew came, accompanied by some of the Christian chiefs, to receive the usual tribute, he was lodged with his escort in one of the gates of the city, and the money was sent him by the hands of a number of Ibn Abbād's nobles : he, however, refused to

repeat the demand to Ibn Abbād a third time, though he had been refused in such a manner as could leave him no hope of success, but made use of harsh language on the occasion, that Prince instantly knocked out his brains, and caused him to be crucified, head downwards, in Cordova. When intelligence of this event reached Alfonso, he engaged himself by a most solemn oath to carry the war to Seville, and to besiege Ibn Abbād in his palace. For this purpose, he equipped two armies; the one of which he directed to proceed to the province of Beja, in the west of Andalusia, and from thence by Laila to Seville; whilst, by a different route, he himself led another army; and they both proceeded, wasting the country, till they met at the appointed place, on the bank of the river, opposite the palace of the King at Seville.

Ibn Abbād, however, had in the mean time dispatched an embassy to the Sultan of Marocco:* and, learning that it was favourably received, he had sent a fleet from Seville to Ceuta, to act under Yūsuf's orders. The latter, moreover, hastened his departure from Africa; and, having reached Algesiras, he landed his troops and stores at that place,† which he occupied as his depot. It is said, that the Sultan took the precaution of bringing camels with him, knowing that European horses would flee from them: but, whether this account be correct or not, he disembarked such an army as induced all the Mahometan princes and people to flock to him: and, on the other hand, Alfonso assembled all the forces which it was in his power to collect from Galicia and France; the priests and monks raising their crosses and displaying their gospels, to engage the people in the contest. As soon as his preparations were

accept it, saying, "By God, I do not take it in this manner; for it is not required of him except "by way of derision; and after this year it shall not be accepted, unless from the chiefs of the "land; return it to him." The money was, therefore, restored, and the jew's speech related to Ibn Abbād; who caused the jew to be crucified, and the Christians to be imprisoned, notwithstanding the jew's offer to redeem himself at a vast price.

* Other authors say that Ibn Abbād himself hastened over the straits to Yūsuf, who was then engaged in the siege of Ceuta; and, that, after obtaining that monarch's promise of support, he hastened back to stir up the princes of Andalusia, also, to his assistance.

† In the month Muharram of the year 479 of the Hijra.

complete, Alfonso hastened to execute his design of carrying the war into the country of his adversaries ; that, if he should fail in the attempt, he might have the passes of the Sierras to cover his retreat ; but, in case he should be victorious, that he might seize the opportunity to subdue the whole of the land. Having determined on his line of attack, he marched with the choicest of his troops, consisting of forty thousand men clad in coats of mail, each of which had his peculiar followers or attendants ; so that, great as was the army of the Moslems, it was still inferior to that of the Christians. Finding the passes of the Sierras guarded, Alfonso turned off with his army to the west : and Yūsuf, with Ibn Abbād, marching to encounter him, had arrived at Badajos, when intelligence reached them of his near approach. On a Wednesday, the spies reported that he was close at hand ; and the Moslems made ready for battle : but, instead of advancing to the attack, Alfonso had first recourse to artifice and deceit ; and the people returned to their tents for that night. On the following morning, which was Thursday, Alfonso sent to Ibn Abbād, saying, “ to-morrow is Friday, your holiday, and Sunday is ours ; let the battle, therefore, take place on the intermediate day, which is Saturday.” When this communication was received, Ibn Abbād immediately communicated it to the Sultan ; and intimated at the same time that it was intended to deceive, as Alfonso designed to engage them on the Friday ; he therefore advised the Sultan to make ready for battle on the morrow, and to keep the men prepared all day. Soon afterwards, spies arrived from within the tent of Alfonso, who reported that they had heard him say to his followers ; “ Ibn Abbād is the stirrer up of this war ; and the people of the deserts, however intelligent and brave they may be, are unacquainted with this country, and are led by him ; direct, therefore, the attack against him, and quit him not ; for, if he is defeated, the victory over the Africans will not be difficult.” Ibn Abbād then imparted this intelligence to the Sultan ; who promised to join him. On the morning of the battle, which was Friday the 15th of Rajab in 479,* the Sultan commanded one of his generals to proceed with his division, and set

* The 26th of October 1086 of Christ. According to another account, however, it was in the

fire to the camp of the enemy : but Alfonso had commenced the attack on Ibn Abbād with all his force ; and, though the latter performed prodigies of valour in maintaining his position, being wounded in three places, and having lost three horses under him, yet part of his troops had fled in despair, and the remainder were beginning to give way, when the Sultan at length arrived on the field of battle. At his approach, Alfonso directed the attack of his army against him, but was repulsed and driven back to his camp : the Sultan and Ibn Abbād then impelled their united forces against Alfonso ; who, after a brave resistance, in which he was wounded in the shoulder, so as to be a cripple during the rest of his life, was obliged to flee and to retire to a hill behind his encampment, with about five hundred horse only. Of the heads of the Christians, the Moslems then raised a tower, from which the hours of public prayer were proclaimed. The place where this decisive battle took place is called Zalāka,* and is situate in the vicinity of Badajos.† The whole of Alfonso's army is reported to have amounted to three hundred thousand men ; of which very few escaped.

Yūsuf returned to Africa soon after this battle ; but he visited Spain again the second year following, and took possession of Granada : he then left an army in Spain, under the command of Sīr Ibn Ab̄y Bakr, one of his Emirs ; who shortly informed Yūsuf that he had subdued the fortresses on the frontiers, and placed garrisons in them ; but he intimated, that it was not right for his army to undergo all the hardships of war, whilst the princes of Andalusia were attentive only to pleasure and luxury. In consequence of which representation, he was ordered to send the Kings from Spain to Africa ; and to expel by force of arms those who should disobey. This order he executed ; and placed the officers of his army in the different governments of the country. Even Ibn Abbād, the chief cause of Yūsuf's coming to Spain, and his associate in the war with Alfonso, was carried captive to Africa in 484 of 1st decade of Rajab ; but both these dates differ from that given by Cardonne, which is the 10th of Ramazān 480, or a year and about two months later.

* Mariana calls it Caçalla.

† Another author says, at the distance of four parasangs from Badajos.

the Hijra, and kept in confinement at Aghmāt near Marocco till his death in 488.*

It is, however, said, that when Yūsuf was in Spain the first time, the advocates of the law applied to him to abolish the taxes and exactions, which were imposed on the people of Spain contrary to the Mahometan law.† To this application Yūsuf attended, and his commands were observed by the different princes, whilst he remained in the country; but, after his departure, they returned to their accustomed practices. In consequence of these proceedings, he repassed the straits with an army, and deposed those petty sovereigns, whose territories he occupied; so that he became master of Cordova, Seville, Badajos, Granada, and other parts of the country.

The authority which Yūsuf thus acquired in Spain was retained by his descendants till the subversion of the dynasty of Matūna in Africa: the Emir Ibrāhim, however, son of Yūsuf, was not so fortunate as his father, being defeated by the Christians at Cutanda, in the province of Saragossa, with the loss of twenty thousand men. This battle happened in the year 514 of the Hijra.‡

Yūsuf died in the year 500,§ and was succeeded by his son, Aly; who imitated the conduct of his father, though inferior to him in some respects. He, however, repelled the enemy from Andalusia, for a considerable time, till it pleased God to raise up against him in Africa, Muhammad son of Tūmarat, surnamed Almahady; who founded the dynasty of the Mūhadites. Ishaac, son of Aly, was slain by Abdulmūmin, the successor of Ibn Tūmarat; who not only made himself master of Marocco, Almahadīa, Ifrikia, and all the dominions of the fallen

* 1095 of Christ.

† The princes of Andalusia, too, at this time were accused of wine-drinking and excessive indulgence in luxuries of every kind; but especially Ibn Abbād. With respect to this latter sovereign, it is related, that a man of Santarem brought him a present of four apples, each of which was five spans in circumference: and the man said that the common size of apples with them was smaller; but when they wished to have them of this magnitude, they cut away the roots, and suffered only ten or less to grow on the tree, the branches of which they supported with props of wood.

‡ Which began on the 2d of April, 1120 of Christ.

§ Which began on the 2d of September, 1106 of Christ.

house of Matūna in Africa ; but great part of Andalusia submitted to his sway ; though the Banū Mardanīs retained some possessions in the east of the country.

In the year 524 * of the Hijra, Tudela and its sister city Tarazona were subdued by the Christians : and in 542 † of the same Æra, Almeria was taken possession of by them ; but they were afterwards expelled from the latter.

Before the arms of the house of Matūna, the divided sovereignties of Spain had disappeared, as in the manner above related ; but when that dynasty was attacked by the Muhadites in Africa, Spain relapsed into nearly the same disunion as it had before experienced. Abdulmūmin, however, the second Mūhadite prince, first sent over the straits twelve thousand horse to the relief of Cordova, which was besieged in the year 545, by Alfonso King of Toledo and the Gallicias, with an army of forty thousand horse : in consequence of the arrival of which succour, Alfonso raised the siege ; and the city was given up to the commander of Abdulmūmin's forces there. In the year following, he sent over from Africa to Spain another army of twenty thousand men ; to the leader of which, Maimūn, sovereign of Granada, with Ibn Hamshaka and others, submitted : but they instigated him against Ibn Mardanīs, sovereign of the east of Andalusia ; the latter, however, being informed of his enemies' design, applied for aid to the Lord of Barcelona, who dispatched ten thousand Europeans to his assistance. Abdulmūmin's general, having learned this circumstance on his march against Ibn Mardanīs, returned and laid siege to Almeria, then in the possession of the Christians ; but he was obliged, from the want of provisions, to abandon that attempt, and to return to Seville. About the same time, Abdulmūmin came to Ceuta, where he fitted out fleets against Spain, and collected forces for that country and in 547 he went against Mahadīa, and obtained possession of it ; he also conquered Ifrikia, and enlarged his empire to a considerable extent. Afterwards, his forces routed the army of Ibn Mardanīs and Ibn Hamshaka, with great slaughter, in the plain of Granada, though these

* Began 15th December, 1129.

† Began the 2d of June, 1147 of Christ.

chiefs had obtained the assistance of the Christians: and he got possession of Granada in 557.* Abdulmūmin was succeeded by his son, Abū Yaacūb Yūsuf; who crossed the straits to Spain in 566, with one hundred thousand horse; and, after receiving the homage of the sons of Ibn Mardanīs, who ruled in Murcia, and subduing the land to the gates of Toledo, he returned to Marocco; but he again passed the sea in the year 580 of the Hijra, and died the same year at the siege of Santarem, in the west of Spain. At his death, his son, Yaacūbu-l Mansūr, a truly valiant and just prince, who displayed the glory of the Muhadite dynasty, obtained the empire; and he triumphed over the Franks on many occasions, but especially at the battle of Alark, where the victory equalled, if not surpassed, that of Zalāka. This battle was gained on Thursday the 9th of Shaabān, in the year 591;† and the place from which it is named is in the district of Badajos.‡ The loss of the enemy in the battle is said to amount to one hundred and forty-six thousand in killed, and thirty thousand taken prisoners; besides an immense quantity of tents, horses, mules, asses, and the like; as the infidels, having no camels, brought those animals to convey their baggage. The booty in jewels and money, too, was incalculable; and sixty thousand coats of mail are said to have been gained by the conquerors. In consequence of this vast plunder, a captive was sold for a dirhem; a sword, for half a dirhem; a horse, for five dirhems; and an ass, for one dirhem: Yaacūb having divided the spoils among the Moslems agreeably to the sacred law. From this defeat a few of the Franks fled to Calatrava, which place Yaacūb besieged and took: but Alfonso, King of the Christians, escaped to Toledo in a miserable condition; when he shaved his head and beard, turned his cross upside down, and swore that he would neither sleep on a bed, approach a woman, nor mount a horse, till he had obtained revenge. With this object in view, he collected troops from the distant islands and countries, and was assiduous in the preparation of necessaries; but, having encountered and

* A. C. 1162.

† About 19th of July, 1195 of Christ.

‡ According to another account, however, the battle happened near the fortress of Rabāh, now called Calatrava, to the north of Cordova.

defeated him a second time, Yaacūb pursued him to Toledo; which city he attacked with engines of war, and besieged till it was on the point of surrendering. In this state of peril and distress, the mother of Alfonso, accompanied by his wives and daughters, came forth and with tears entreated Yaacūb to spare the place. Being moved with compassion, he not only granted their request; but, to shew his respect for them, presented them with many jewels and other valuable articles. Shortly afterwards, he returned to Cordova, where he remained a month to divide the spoils; and, he received there an embassy from Alfonso on the subject of peace, which he accorded: so that the people of Spain enjoyed rest for some time.*

To this Prince, the Sultan Salāhuddīn, son of Aiyūb, sent to solicit aid against the Franks who had attacked him on the coast of Palestine: but, as Salāhuddīn had not in his letter given Yaacūb the title of "Commander of the Faithful," his embassy failed of its object. Such, however, was the disposition of Yaacūb that, offended as he was with Salāhuddīn, to whom he returned a despicable present, yet he enriched the envoy of the latter; having given him on one occasion, for a poem of forty verses, forty thousand pieces of money, being at the rate of one thousand for each verse: he, moreover, added a compliment, by saying, "this we give thee for thy learning and poetry." Salāhuddīn's ambassador left Spain in the year 588.†

The seat of empire of these Mūhadite princes was Marocco; but, through their proximity to Spain, they were enabled frequently to pass the straits, and to carry on war against the infidels. The different provinces of the country, also, they parted out amongst their own adherents. After Yaacūb, by whom Alfonso was entirely defeated at Alark, as before related, his son and successor, Muhammad Annāsir, who was unfortunate both for the Moslems in general and for Spain in particular,

* It is elsewhere recorded, that Yaacūb returned from the siege of Toledo to Seville, where he remained till the year 593; but, that he then invaded again the territories of the Franks, without the enemy's being able to meet him in the field; and, that in consequence of the rising up of a rebel against him in Africa, who was supported by the Banū Aiyūb, Sultans of Egypt, he at length yielded to the solicitations of the Christians for peace. His death happened in 595 of the Hijra.

† 1192 of Christ.

came over from Africa in the year 609,* and collected, of Spaniards and Africans, an army in the number of which he gloried; for it is said to have amounted to six hundred thousand fighting men: but it pleased God to prove the Moslems at a place called Akāb,† where so many suffered martyrdom, that of this vast host not one thousand are reported to have escaped. This defeat is ascribed to the bad policy of Annāsir and his Vizir; who manifested their contempt of the Andalusians, though these knew best how to contend with the Franks; and, by so doing, enraged many and alienated their minds from the cause. But, however it was occasioned, it may be regarded as the chief cause of the succeeding weakness of Africa and of Andalusia: as to the former, through the great depopulation of its towns and districts; and, as to the latter, through the acquisitions which the enemy was consequently enabled to make on it. For when the Mūhadite empire after Annāsir became convulsed, the princes of the royal family, who under the title of Saiyids had been appointed governors of the different parts of Spain, each seized the opportunity of extending his own power and sway; and, in the enfeebled state of the government at Marocco, they came at length not only to hire the troops of the common enemy, but to surrender to him the fortresses of the Moslems, for the purpose of obtaining his aid against each other.

Annāsir died in the year 610,‡ and was succeeded by his son Yūsufu-l Mustansir, who gave himself up to ease; and the empire lost its force in his days. After him, who died in 620,§ his father's uncle, Abdulwāhid, came to the throne; but he governed ill: and Alaadil, son of Almansūr, who was at that time in Spain, finding his own claim to the empire good, seized without difficulty the sovereignty of what remained to the Mahometans in that country. When Abdulwāhid,¶

* Beginning on the 3d of June in 1212 of Christ: yet Cardonne places the battle of Akāb in the year 607 of the Hijra, or on the 16th July, A. C. 1210.

† The Spanish name of the place, however, is Vanos Tolosa, according to some, or Los Navas according to others.

‡ Which began on the 23d May, 1213 of Christ. § 1223 of Christ.

¶ He is said to have reigned nine months only.

however, was deposed and strangled at Morocco, the Franks attacked Alaadil, who was completely routed by them ; and, wretched as the state of Andalusia was, Alaadil crossed the sea to Morocco, leaving his brother Abū-l Alā Idrīs, at Seville. Soon after his arrival there, he was removed by the Muhadites, who advanced Yahya, son of Annāsir, a youth of tender years and of no experience, to the throne : but Abu-l Alā, having first assumed the dignity of Khalif at Seville, and received the allegiance of the Andalusians, was soon afterwards acknowledged by the people of Morocco, though he still resided in Spain : and, when the Emīr Almutawakkil Ibn Hūd, who vindicated the supremacy of the house of Alabbās, rose up against him, and the people also quitted him, he left the peninsula to Ibn Hūd ; and, directing his attention wholly to Yahya, son of Annāsir, he ceased not carrying on war against him till he slew him ; when he obtained the entire sovereignty of Almaghrab,* exclusive of Spain, and he died in 629.† His son, Arrashīd, was then inaugurated Khalif in Africa, as well as in some parts of Andalusia. To him, who died in 640,‡ his brother Assaīd succeeded : and the latter was killed at a fortress between Morocco and Tilimsān in 646.§ Almutaza Umar, son of Ibrahīm, son of Yūsuf, son of Abdulmūmin, next ascended the throne ; but, in 665, Alwāthik, surnamed Abū Dabūs, conspired against him ; and, being seized in his flight, he was slain by Alwāthik : the latter, however, was killed by the Banū Marīn in 668 ; and, with him, ended one of the most powerful of the Mahometan dynasties, namely, that of the house of Abdulmūmin, the Banū Marīn now gaining the sovereignty in Almaghrab.

In the year 626 of the Hijra,¶ the Christians entered the district of Merida, the ancient capital of the interior of Spain, though Badajos afterwards became the seat of government in that part of the country, and took it from Muhammadu-bn Hūd. Both those cities, with their

* "The west," being generally applied to denote Africa and Spain.

† Beginning on the 29th of October, 1231 of Christ.

‡ Beginning on the 1st of July, 1242 of Christ.

§ Beginning on the 26th of April, 1248 of Christ.

¶ Beginning on the 30th of November, A. C. 1228.

territories, had formerly been subject to Almuzaffaru-bnu-l Aftas, indisputably the most learned prince of his age, and author of that splendid and excellent work, Almutarjim bittadhakkiri-l Muzaffary, in fifty volumes, comprising history, biography, and all the various branches of polite literature. His son, Almutawakkil, too, was one of the most eminent men of the age; and the court of the latter, like that of Almuatamidu-bn Abbād, was the resort of the learned; who kept passing from the one to the other, as the fragrant gales are alternately wafted at times from bower to bower. Almutawakkil, however, was the most scientific of these two, and Almuatamid the most poetical: the first was slain by the forces of Yūsufu-bn Tāsifīn; and the latter was carried captive to Africa, where he died.

In 627,* the island of Majorca was taken by the Christians: but, the Moslems retained possession of Minorca some time longer, on condition of paying a stipulated tribute.

On the decay of the Muhadite dynasty in Spain, Muhammadu-bn Yūsufi-bn Hūd, surnamed Almutawakkil, Ibn Mardanīs, and other revolvers, attacking its remaining forces at the same time, expelled them from the country; and Ibn Hūd obtained the chief dominion in the land: but, as he acknowledged the supremacy of the Abbāsian Khalif, he deferred taking the allegiance of the people, as their sovereign, till the arrival of his patent from Baghdad, in the year 631.† Against this prince, however, several competitors for dominion sprung up; the most successful of which was Muhammadu-bnu-l Ahmar, surnamed the Shaikh, whose family residence was at Arjūna, a fortress in the kingdom of Cordova, where he was born in the year 591‡ of the Hijra. His family, which had been conspicuous in the army of the state, was also called Banū Nasr;§ and, towards the close of the Muhadite dynasty, he was the chief of the Khazrij tribe, deriving his pedigree from its prince, Saadu-bn Ubāda. When, therefore, Ibn Hūd,

* Beginning on the 20th of November, 1229 of Christ.

† Beginning on the 7th of October, 1233 of Christ.

‡ Beginning on the 16th of December, A. C. 1194

§ After Nasr, an eminent ancestor.

acknowledging the supremacy of the house of Alabbās, not only possessed the ascendancy over the other revolters, but had made himself master of the east of Spain, and fixed the seat of government at Murcia, Ibnu-l Ahmar, who in opposition to the family of Hūd, caused the name of Abū Zakarīa, sovereign of Ifrikia, to be mentioned in the public prayers, as commander of the faithful, conspired against him ; and, in 629 began to receive the allegiance of the people. In the following year, Jaen and Xeres submitted to him ; and, through his affinity to the Banū Nasr, as well as his relationship by marriage to the Banū Iskilūla, he found means to establish his authority.

After the departure of Ibn Hūd from Seville, on his return to Murcia, Abū Marwānu-l Bājy revolted, and obtained possession of the former city ; but, Ibnu-l Ahmar, having in 632 entered the place peaceably, under pretence of giving Albājy his daughter in marriage, and of submitting to him, slew him, by means of Aliyu-bn Iskilūla: the people, however, in one month, restored their allegiance to Ibn Hūd, and expelled Ibnu-l Ahmar. Then, in the year 635,* Ibnu-l Ahmar obtained possession of Granada, by subduing the people, when Ibn Ab̄y Khālīd had excited a civil war there in his cause ; and, on receiving at Jaen the investiture of the sovereignty, he dispatched Aliyu-bn Iskilūla as governor : but he himself shortly followed ; and fixing himself at Granada, he built in it the fortress of the Alhamrā, for his own residence.

After the acquisition of Granada, Ibnu-l Ahmar soon obtained possession of Malaga. In the year 643, he took Almeria from Ibnu-r Ramīmy ; and, in 663, the people of Lorca gave him their allegiance. This prince, at the commencement of his reign, entered into an alliance with the Christian tyrant, for the purpose of obtaining his aid to establish his newly acquired sway : and, Ibn Hūd gave the Christian thirty forts, to induce him to desist from his attacks in favour of Ibnu-l Ahmar, and to obtain his assistance against the King of Cordova : this city,

* Beginning on the 24th August, A. C. 1237.

however, was taken by the Christians in 633,* or, on the 23d of Shavwāl in 636,† as elsewhere recorded.

In 637, or on the 17th of Safar, in 636,‡ Valencia surrendered to the Christians. In 645, the King of Castille, accompanied by Ibnu-l Ahmar, attacked Seville, which capitulated to the former on the fifth of Shaabān in 646,§ after a siege of one year and five months. And, in 665,¶ or in 668,|| according to another account, the tyrant gained possession of Murcia; Ahmadu-bn Muhammadi-bn Hūd, son of its sovereign, having come on the tenth of Shavwāl to the city, with a number of Christian chiefs, and delivered it into their hands.

When Almutawakkil Ibn Hūd had fixed himself at Murcia as an independent sovereign, and other revolters against Abū-l Alā Idrīs, surnamed Māmūn, of the family of Abdu-l Mūmin, arose in Spain, Abū Abdillāh Muhammadu-bnu-r Ramīmy, a powerful man in Almeria, took possession of that city in behalf of Ibn Hūd; and, on going to the latter at Murcia, was appointed his Vizir. Afterwards, he prevailed on Ibn Hūd, through the influence he acquired over him, to fortify the castle of Almeria, as a residence for Ibn Hūd himself, whilst the Vizir in fact sought it for his own accommodation: and, Ibn Hūd having left in it a damsel, to whom Ibnu-r Ramīmy was much attached, the latter obtained a communication with her. As soon as intelligence of this circumstance reached Ibn Hūd, he hastened to Almeria, with the design of taking revenge; but, the Vizir anticipated his master's purpose, and Ibn Hūd was conveyed a corpse from the castle, and sent in a coffin by water to Murcia. At this event, Ibnu-r Ramīmy took possession of Almeria in his own name: shortly, however, his son rebelled against him in that place; and, after some changes, the state of things became such, that Ibnu-l Ahmar was enabled to subdue the city, and it continued in the hands of his descendants, till it was seized by the Christians at the final subjugation of Andalusia.

* Beginning on the 16th of September, A. C. 1235.

† About the 28th of May, A. C. 1239.

‡ About the 28th of September, A. C. 1238.

§ About the 23d of November, A. C. 1248.

¶ Began on the 2d of October, A. C. 1266.

|| Began on the 31st of August, 1269.

After encountering much warfare and difficulty, the dynasty of Hūd closed in Alwāthik; who, being hardly pressed by Alfonso and the Barcelonians, submitted to Ibnu-l Ahmar, and surrendered to the latter's agent, Ibn Iskīlūla, the city of Murcia. He then attempted to go to Ibnu-l Ahmar; but the Christians attacked him on the way, and he returned to Murcia, where he remained till they took from him the city in 668; giving him, however, in the kingdom of Murcia, a castle, called Yasr, in which he resided till his death.

Not content with the reduction of the principal cities above-mentioned, the Christian Tyrant continued to seize the possessions of the Moslems, taking from them district after district, and fortress after fortress, till they were forced entirely to the sea coast, from Ronda on the west to the east of Andalusia, about ten marhala (days journies) in length, and one marhala, or less, in breadth from the inland side to the sea. Indignant at this, Ibnu-l Ahmar then sought to obtain possession of all the peninsula,* but he was unable to accomplish his purpose. Troops, however, were dispatched to Spain by the Banū Marīn and others, at various times: as, about the year 660, Yaacūbu-bn Abdilhakk, King of Almaghrab, sent over three thousand warriors, whose arrival Ibnu-l Ahmar welcomed, and with whom he repelled the enemy; and, on the return of these to Africa, others constantly passed over in their stead, till the death of the Shaikh Ibnu-l Ahmar, in 671.†

Muhammadu-l Fakīh,‡ son of the last-mentioned, then succeeded to

* What is really meant by this expression, seems doubtful. Perhaps that corner of Andalusia only, on which Algesiras, Gibraltar, Xeres, &c. are situated, may be intended.

† Beginning on the 29th July, A. C. 1272.

‡ This prince was born in 633, and died in 701: when he was succeeded by his son Muhammad Abū Abdillāh, who was born in 655, dethroned in 708, and who died in 713. Nasru-bn Muhammad was born in 686, usurped the throne of his brother in 708, was expelled from Granada in 713, and died at Guadix in 722. Ismāīlu-bn Farajī-bn Nasr, surnamed Abū-l Walīd, was born in 677, came to the throne in 713, and died in 725. This latter was succeeded by his son, Muhammad, surnamed Abū Abdillāh, who was born in 715, and died in 733. He was succeeded by his brother Yūsuf, surnamed Abū-l Hajjāj, who was born in 718, and assassinated in the mosque, whilst at public prayer, on the 1st of the month Shavwāl in 755.§ Muhammad, son

§ See a translation of the elegant inscription on the tomb of this Prince, in Appendix I. (No. 15).

the sovereignty of Granada: and, in 672, Yaacūbu-bn Abdilhakk, Sultan of Fez and Almaghrab, first sent over his son with an army, which he himself followed, to the assistance of Muhammad; and having taken Algesiras from the hand of an insurgent, who had got possession of it, he made it the receptacle of his warriors. Ibnu-l Ahmar also gave up to him the fortress of Tarifa: and, the two sovereigns united, put to flight the Christian governor, dispersed his army, and routed the legions of the tyrant on all sides; till, through jealousy of his ally, Ibnu-l Ahmar, made peace with the Christians, and Ibn Abdilhakk returned to Africa. The descendants of Ibnu-l Ahmar, however, became so firmly established in Andalusia, that they shortly acquired the sovereignty of all the possessions of the Moslems there; like Algesiras, Tarifa, and Ronda, which had belonged to the Banū Marīn.

In the year 719,* the Christian princes collected their forces against Granada; and the tyrant haughtily approached it with an innumerable army: but, though the people were disappointed of assistance from the Sultan of Fez, to whom they had made application, yet the Christians were shamefully routed by the Shaikhu-l Ghuzāt, Ibn Saīd Othmān, with an army of about five thousand warriors only. This victory was gained on Sunday, the 23d of the first Rabīa: and, of the spoils obtained by the Moslems, who pursued the enemy three days, and slew of them fifty thousand men or upwards, were forty-three hundred weight of gold, and one hundred and forty hundred weight of silver, besides seven thousand captives; among which were the wife and children of the chief: but the chief also fell; and his skin, being stripped from his body,† was

of Yūsuf, surnamed Alghany Billāh, then came to the throne; but, his manners being too severe and correct for the courtiers, his brother Ismāīl shortly afterwards took advantage of the circumstance to expel him, and to usurp the government; of which Ismāīl kept possession till the year 761, when the latter was killed by his relative and minister, Abū Saīd. This person then usurped the throne; but, finding himself unable to retain it, he fled to the King of Castille for aid, by whose order he was privately put to death. Muhammad was restored in the year 763. These notices, however, on the biography of the first Sultans of the Banū-l Ahmar, who reigned at Granada, will be found to differ widely from the accounts given by Cardonne; at least in the dates of events.

* Began about the 22d of February, A. C. 1319.

† This seems to have been the defeat of the two infants, Don Pedro and Don Juan: but,

stuffed with cotton, and suspended over the gate of Granada, where it remained for years. At the era of this event, the Sultan of the Moslems in Spain was Alghālib Billāh Abū Walīd Ismāīl, surnamed Ibnu-l Ahmar; and peace was afterwards concluded with the Christians, in consequence of their soliciting it.

Yaacūbu-bn Abdilhakk, Sultan of Fez and Almaghrab, whose assistance to the Moslems in Spain has been before noticed, was succeeded by his son Yūsuf, to whom Alfonso fled for aid, and pledged his crown; in consequence of which Yūsuf supported him in the recovery of his dominions. But the princes of the house of Marīn continued to afford succours, both in men and money, to the people of Andalusia; and, a number of the Sultan's relatives, whose actions with the enemy were splendid and renowned, continued in Spain as its protectors: with Ibnu-l Ahmar even, in Granada, a body of such auxiliaries resided, under the command of a chief, called the Shaikhū-l Ghuzāt,* selected from the royal family of Marīn. When, moreover, the empire came into the possession of the Sultān Abū-l Hasani-l Marīny, and his authority was established in all Almaghrab, as well as in some parts of Andalusia, he fitted out a large fleet for the purpose of carrying on the sacred war in Spain, which he was very anxious to prosecute. It pleased God, however, that the Franks, who had collected vast forces with the design of subduing all that remained to the Moslems, should, after they had taken Algesiras, seize most of this fleet; and when he came himself to Ceuta, with the intention of passing the sea to the assistance of the people of Spain, he found the Franks in possession of the straits, with an innumerable fleet, by which they opposed his passage to Andalusia; and, having made themselves masters of Algesiras, they were enabled to injure his shipping much. Still he sent over troops, and commanded

Mariana places that battle in the year 1317, and Cardonne describes it as happening in 1318; according to the author, however, here translated, it must have been in 1319, and about the 14th of May, on a Sunday, answering to the 23d of the first Rabīa, in 719 of the Hijra. Neither Mariana nor Cardonne notices the circumstance of the commander's, or of a commander's, skin being exposed, as here related.

* Senior of the sacred warriors.

them in person till he conquered Gibraltar from the Christians ; and, to the fortifying of this place, which had been twenty years in their hands, but which he took after a siege of six months, he was particularly attentive, spending vast sums of money in building its houses, magazines, and great mosque, as well as on its walls, towers and citadel. Before, however, these improvements were fully completed, the enemy laid siege to it by sea and land ; but their attempt was frustrated by the gallant and persevering defence of the Moslems.

After this, the Sultān Abū-l Hasan again applied himself to strengthen Gibraltar, by fortifying the foot of the rock with a wall, encircling it on all sides, as the halo surrounds the crescent moon ; so that the enemy could now discover no prospect of success in attacking it, nor did there appear any way to force it by siege : and, his son, Abū-l Anān, still augmented its fortifications. But, intent as Abū-l Hasan was on establishing his power in Andalusia, Algesiras fell to the Christians, in consequence of the defeat which he, together with Ibnu-l Ahmar, suffered at Tarifa from the tyrant : and, Gibraltar was afterwards taken from the Banū Marīn, by Muhammad, surnamed Alghany Billāh, Sultan of Granada, to whom Lisānu-d Dīn ibnu-l Khatīb was minister.

After the loss of Cordova, Seville, Toledo, Murcia, and others of the principal cities of Spain, the Moslems were confined to Granada, Almeria, Malaga, and the adjacent places : but, the dragon of the enemy still advanced, swallowing up, every hour, some fortress or country ; though the princes of the family of Ibnu-l Ahmar, who ruled over the contracted territories now remaining to the Moslems, seldom desisted from war with their enemies, and were generally aided by the Banū Marīn, Kings of Fez. When, however, on the retirement of his brother, Abū Abdillah, from the sovereignty of Malaga, the Sultān Abū-l Hasan Aly was acknowledged there, as well as in all the other possessions retained by the Moslems in Spain, he prosecuted the war successfully and reduced many places ; so that the enemy became alarmed at his victories, and solicited peace with him. On the 19th of Dhū-l Hijja, in the year 882, this sovereign commenced a review of his numerous army, the troops composing which he inspected from a delightful

edifice, erected for the occasion, without the Alhamrā, the citadel of Granada; and they ceased not passing before him daily till the 22d of Muharram* following, when the review was completed. Afterwards, the city of Granada was afflicted by a violent torrent, such as had never before been witnessed in that country, which it pleased God to send by way of chastisement to the inhabitants for their excesses in wickedness and iniquity. On this occasion, the rain fell in streams, as if poured from the mouths of bottles; and, the swoln river, descending with stones, swept away the shops, houses, bridges, and gardens of those parts of the city which stood on each of its banks; and the devastation of the torrent extended even to the water wheel of the great mosque.

About this time, the chiefs of the Franks were divided among themselves: one taking possession of the kingdom of Cordova; another, of Seville; and another, of Xeres. In consequence of this distraction of his enemies, Abū-l Hasan gave himself up to luxury; neglecting and wasting his forces, whilst intent upon his pleasures. Such being his disposition, he resigned the management of affairs to his ministers; and, having secluded himself from the eyes of his people, he abandoned all military enterprise, as well as all attention to the government of his country: an infatuation this which overcame him, that the will of the Almighty might be accomplished. Hence oppressors and acts of oppression, became numerous: and both high and low condemned the conduct of their Prince; who, imagining that the Christians would never cease from their dissensions and return to the attack of his kingdom, slew even the principal of his generals. It happened, however, that the King of Castille, after fighting some battles, recovered that country; and the rebellious chiefs of polytheism were obliged to submit to him.

The power of the Franks being thus reunited, they soon found an opportunity to invade and subdue the land; the circumstances which led to this event were as follows. The Sultān Abū-l Hasan had by his wife, the daughter of his uncle Abū Abdillāh Alaisar, two sons,

* So that the review continued from about the 24th of March, to the 25th of April, A. C. 1478.

Muhammad and Yūsuf ; but, he had preferred to their mother a Grecian woman, by whom he had issue : and, having evinced his predilection for the concubine in every affair, it was feared that he would postpone his sons by the noble daughter of his uncle, to those by the Grecian. From this cause, quarrels took place, and factions were formed, among the officers of the state ; some inclining to the sons of his wife, and others to those of the concubine. By chance, too, the term of the treaty of peace, which the Christians had concluded during their internal divisions, expired while the courtiers were thus at variance together ; and, the complaints made by the people of the oppression experienced from the Vizir and other ministers, were disregarded : hence, discord gathered strength, and the state of things became so serious, that the populace demanded the removal of the Vizir. This disaffection of the Granadians, and the weakness of the government were soon discovered by the Christians ; who, at the termination of the peace, took Alhama, by surprise, from the King of Fez in 887 ;* and, having gained the castle, sought to make themselves masters of the town also. To accomplish their purpose, they spread themselves throughout the place, slew all the Moslems they met, and took the women captive ; whilst the unprepared inhabitants were incapable of making resistance. On learning this event, the people of Granada, of every rank and class, went forth ; and the arrival of the foremost of them induced the enemy, who, to the number of about ten thousand men, had seized Alhama, and were preparing to depart with their plunder, to return to the town ; where the Moslems laid siege to them : but, after having been obliged to raise the siege twice, and after the governor of Seville had found means to relieve the place, which the Christians had not before determined to hold, the Moslems abandoned it in despair.

On the 27th of the prior Jumādy in the same year,† the Granadians forced the King of Castille, who had laid siege to Loja, to retire from that place, with great loss in provisions and arms : and, on the same day, Abū Abdillāh Muhammad, and Abū-l Hajjāj Yūsuf, sons of the Sultān Abū-l Hasan, having fled through fear that he would kill them

* 1482 of Christ.

† About the 14th of July in 1482 of Christ.

at the instigation of his concubine, settled at Guadix ; which place, as well as Baza,* Almeria, and Granada, submitted to them ; their father having withdrawn himself to Malaga, where his sovereignty was still acknowledged.

In the month Safar of the year 888,† the Christian governors of Seville, Xeres, Ecija, Antequera, and other places,‡ united together, and proceeded with about eight thousand men towards Malaga and Velez : they did not, however, get possession of one fort : and, whilst they were dispersed in the passes and mountainous parts of the country, the people of those two cities united, attacked them ; and, having killed about three thousand, besides making two thousand prisoners, they obliged the rest to take to flight. Amongst the slain, moreover, was an uncle of their king, with the governors of Seville, Xeres, Antequera, and other places, being in all near thirty of their principal commanders : and, the spoils gained by the Moslems were very great and valuable. Afterwards, the people of Malaga invaded the territories of the Christians, who suffered so complete a defeat, that most of the chiefs of the west of Andalusia were slain in it.§

At the attack of the Christians on Malaga, the Sultān Abū-l Hasan retired from it to Almunezar, leaving his brother, Abū Abdillāh, with part of the army, in the former place. And, when the Sultān Abū Abdillāh, son of Abū-l Hasan, who was established in Granada, heard of the advantages which his uncle in Malaga had gained over the Christians, he led the people of Granada, in the first Rabīa of this year,¶ to war against the enemy ; plundering and making captive till he reached the territory of Lucena : but, the Christians of these districts having assembled, and being joined by the governor of Cabra, threw themselves in the rear of the Moslems, and cut off their communication

* But Cardonne asserts, that Basta remained faithful to Abū-l Hasan.

† March or April, 1483 of Christ.

‡ Cardonne ascribes this expedition to the Marquis of Cadiz.

§ It is, however, somewhat doubtful, from the original Arabic, whether the people of Malaga or the Christians suffered this defeat : yet, from the context, the meaning here given to the passage seems most likely.

¶ April or May, A. C. 1483.

with their own country. In this situation, the Moslems were defeated ; and the whole of their army was either slain or made prisoners : amongst the latter was the Sultan himself ; whom, on being discovered by the governor of Lucena, the Count of Cabra wished to take from him, but he fled with him by night, and conveyed him to the King of Castille ; in consequence of which performance, he was exalted above all the other commanders, and employed on every important enterprise. At the occurrence of this disaster, the principal men of Granada and the nobles of Andalusia went to Malaga, and brought back to Granada Abū-l-Hasan, to whom they took the oaths of allegiance ; he, however, having lost his sight from a paralytic affection, and being otherwise much afflicted, excused himself from undertaking the government ; and, abdicating the throne in favour of his brother, Abū Abdillāh,* he retired Almunezar,† where he remained till his death.

In the latter Rabīa of the year 890,‡ the Christians invaded the territory of Malaga with force ; and, as in the preceding year, subdued some forts : they also entered Dhakwān § by storm, having first undermined its walls ; but, a body of men from Algharb and from Ronda, happening to be in the place, they slew the thousand men in armour who had entered ; afterwards, however, the garrison capitulated, on condition of being allowed to depart in safety. In the prior Jumādy of the same year,¶ the Christians took Ronda ; so that nothing remained to the west of Malaga, which they had not subdued : and, after distributing his army among the various fortresses, in readiness to besiege Malaga, the King of Castille returned home.

On the 19th of Shaabān in this year,|| the Sultan of Granada went forth to fortify the country : and, whilst on his tour, being informed that the enemy had encamped without a certain fort, he encountered them on the morning of the 23d, but the Moslems, fighting in disorder, were broken, and the enemy penetrated to the tent of the Sultan : on a renewal of the battle, however, the Christians were ultimately defeated,

* Surnamed, Azzaghal.

† Cardonne says nothing of this ; but tells quite another tale.

‡ April or May, A.C. 1485.

§ A town to the west of Malaga.

¶ May or June, 1485.

|| About the 31st of August.

and many of them slain, though the Moslems restrained themselves through fear of the main body of the Christian King's army, which was advancing towards this division. After this, nothing was done till the month of Ramazān; when the infidel advanced against Cambil, which capitulated; and he made himself master of many other forts: but, all the territories of the Moslems were now so straitened by him, that he attacked no fortress or district, without making himself master of it.

Not content with his success by force of arms, the King of Castille then turned his mind to artifice: and, having furnished his prisoner, the Sultān Abū Abdillāh, with men, money, and necessaries, he sent him to the east of Baza: and, to allure the people, he promised that whoever submitted to the Sultan, his ally, should be comprised in the treaty of peace subsisting between them, and enjoy the security it afforded. In the mean time, the Christian proceeded to Velez; the people of which city submitted to him, and peace was proclaimed in the market-place: this circumstance, being published by the demons of mischief throughout the country, seduced the inhabitants of the suburbs of Granada, called Albaizin; and, they being joined by the seditious, as well as by those who from the weakness of the government were anxious for peace, proclaimed the Sultan, whom the Christians had held in captivity. Hence, great troubles sprang up in Granada itself among the Moslems. In this situation of affairs, the people of the fortress assailed Albaizin with stones; and this alarming commotion, which began on the 3d of the prior Rabīa of the year 891,* continued till the middle of the prior Jumādy following.†

Whilst the people of Granada were thus contending among themselves, intelligence arrived that the Sultan, whom some acknowledged, had advanced to Loja and entered that place, in hopes of an arrangement for peace between him and his uncle, the reigning Sultan in Granada: and the conditions proposed were, that the nephew should reside in Loja or in any other place which he might wish, but in subjection to his uncle; and, that they should act in unity against the

* About the 9th of March, 1486.

† About the 19th of May, 1486.

enemy of the faith. In the mean time, however, the King of Castille invested Loja with great force ; and, the Sultan, who had been his captive, was joined in it by a number of his partisans from Albaizin, who repaired to the assistance of their sovereign ; but, the people of Granada and other places, suspecting that this was all a stratagem, came none of them to the protection of Loja : and, when alarming rumours of the same import, that the attack was concerted between the captive Sultan and the King of Castille, were disseminated among the besieged, they, through fear of being taken by assault, capitulated on conditions of security for their lives and property ; and, the King took possession of the place on the 26th of the prior Jumādy.* The people of Loja then removed to Granada ; but the Sultan remained behind : which circumstance convinced the Granadians, that his entrance into Loja was intended solely to put the enemy in possession of it ; and, that this was agreed on as his ransom. In confirmation, too, of this belief, the Sultan's son, who had been retained as a hostage, was now liberated. After the reduction of Loja, the King of Castille returned to his own territories, taking the captive Sultan with him : in the middle of the next month, however, he attacked Albīra ; and, after he had demolished part of the walls, the inhabitants capitulated, and removed to Granada. Then, he proceeded against other fortresses ; which he subdued in like manner, and filled with troops and stores in readiness for the intended siege of Granada.

Again the rumour was spread abroad, that the King of Castille had accorded to the captive Sultan, peace and security for all those who should submit to the latter : and, this concession he had been induced to make, as it was said, on account of a war which had broken out between him and the King of France. The captive Sultan then repaired to Velez, which accepted his sway : but, though he sent to all the neighbouring places to allure them with the offer of a participation in the treaty subsisting between the King and him, on condition of their submitting to his authority, yet very few placed any confidence in him, except the people of Albaizin, who readily acceded to his proposals.

* About the 30th of May, 1486.

Acting as his declared partisans, they not only began to attack the people of Granada with reproachful language, calculated to excite civil discord and commotion ; but they informed the captive Sultan, that if he would come to their quarter, they would openly acknowledge him for their sovereign. With full assurance of the disposition of the people, he therefore sought an opportunity, which the neglect of the opposite party allowed him, to enter Albaizin on the 16th of Shavwāl : * but though he then proclaimed unconditional peace, yet the people of Granada, calling to mind the preceding treacherous affair of Loja, refused to accept it of him.

At the captive Sultan's entrance into Albaizin, his uncle removed from the palace of the Alhambra to the castle, and civil war commenced ; the King of Castille assisting the Sultan, his ally, with men, money, wheat, gunpowder, and other articles ; so that his authority was strengthened, as well as his means of maintaining the contest, increased ; and massacre and plunder became common. This continued till the 27th of Muharram, 892 ; † on which day the people of Granada, with their Sultan, determined to enter Albaizin by force ; the doctors of the law giving their opinion on the person who sought to conquer through the aid of the Christians, and not only pointing out the duty of repelling him, but shewing, that they who obeyed him were rebels against God and his Prophet : yet they made but a faint attack upon the people of Albaizin. The sovereign of Granada then sent to the military and chiefs of the people of Baza, Guadix, Almeria, Almunezar, Velez, Malaga, and all the districts of the land ; and, being assembled in Granada, they bound themselves by oath, to act unanimously against the enemies of the faith, and in support of the Moslems who resisted the foe. At this determined opposition, the Sultan in Albaizin, being terrified, sent intelligence of it to the King of Castille, and departed hastily towards the territory of Velez ; having dispatched his Vizir to Malaga and Hisnu-l Munshāt, to induce the people to submit to him, by alarming them with the prospect of danger from the Christians, and by shewing them the treaty he had entered into with the King of

* About the 17th of October, A. C. 1486.

† About the 24th of January, 1487.

Castille, which would secure protection to his subjects. Swayed by such arguments, Malaga and Hisnu-l Munshāt* acknowledged his sovereignty: but, when the chief men of Malaga met those of Velez to explain their motives for this conduct, the latter refused to depart from their engagements with the people of Granada, and the other Mahometans of Andalusia. The King of Castille then laid siege to Velez Malaga in the latter Rabīa of the year 892:† and, the Granadians, on learning the circumstance, prepared to fulfil their engagements with the besieged, in marching to their relief. The people of Guadix and other places, as well as the levies of the Alpuxarras, then assembled at Granada; and the Sultan set forth on the 24th of the latter Rabīa, for Velez. When he drew near, finding that the enemy had formed the siege both by sea and land, he encamped on a mountain there; but the Moslems, with much clamour, hastened to assault the Christians: at the very moment, however, when they were advancing to the attack, intelligence reached the Sultan, Azzaghal,‡ that the Granadians had sworn allegiance to the Sultan of Albaizin; the army, therefore, engaged the Christians irresolutely; or rather, before the battle had begun, they fled in disorder, though their opponents were really terrified at their approach. By this time, the officers had become acquainted with the revolt in Granada against the Sultan; they, therefore, betook themselves to Guadix: and the Christians, who had raised the siege of Velez for the purpose of encountering the Granadians, recommenced their operations against that place; the suburbs of which they took by storm. Seeing the determination of the enemy against them, and the retreat of their allies, the people of Velez offered to capitulate; and terms being granted them, they marched out on Friday, the 10th of the prior Jumādy.§

Having now made themselves masters of all to the east of Malaga,

* Or Hisnu-n Nashāt; for the text is doubtful in this particular, and the place is not known.

† March or the beginning of April, 1487.

‡ This is very different from Cardonne's account: and the revolt of the Granadians, here mentioned, is recorded to have happened on the 5th of the prior Jumādy, or about the 29th of April, A. C. 1487.

§ About the 4th of May, A. C. 1487.

the Christians proceeded to the siege of that place ; though the inhabitants had submitted to the captured Sultan, and were included in the treaty of peace subsisting between him and the King of Castille. During the siege of Velez, too, the people of Malaga had sent the king a present by their governor, the Sultan's Vizir, and the governor of Xeres, who was their captive : but he would not notice them, because Jabal Cān, the fortress of Malaga, remained in allegiance to the Sultan of Guadix. The enemy, however, experienced a vigorous resistance from the inhabitants of Malaga, who fought valiantly ; though in a short time they became so surrounded by both sea and land, that they could no longer receive assistance from without ; and in their hopes for aid they had been almost completely disappointed, a body of Murābits* only having entered the city during the siege. After a very severe action, in which the inhabitants had nearly defeated their adversaries, the suburbs were taken ; but the contest was not abandoned till the provisions in the city being spent, the people subsisted on their horses and asses, and became exhausted with famine. In their application, too, for assistance to the Africans, they were totally disappointed. They then began to treat with the Christians for such terms of capitulation as had been usually accorded to others ; and hopes were held out to them, that if they would surrender the castle and the fort, the king could not fail of treating them well : but these terms were intended only to deceive ; as the king took the inhabitants captive, on getting possession of the city, which surrendered at discretion towards the end of Shaabān, in the year 892.† Having thus got possession of Malaga, and all the forts in that neighbourhood, the enemy proceeded to the east, and to Velez, which parts were at peace with him ; and he took quiet possession of them, paying no regard to the people when they pleaded treaties in their defence.

* What men these were is not very evident. Perhaps they were a kind of militia, appointed to guard the frontiers : or, they might be other warriors bearing this appellation, as did the soldiers of Yūsufu-bn Tāsafīn, before-mentioned.

† About the 20th of August, 1487 of Christ.

In the month Rajab of the year 894,* the enemy invaded the district of Baza; and, after subduing some of its forts, he laid siege to the city itself; which being strengthened by all the forces that the Sultan of Guadix could collect from Guadix, Almeria, Almunezar, and the Alpujarras, made a stout resistance, till the people were obliged to capitulate through the want of provisions: and, the Christians entered the castle of Baza, on Friday, the 10th of Muharram, in the year 895.† The terms, on which this fortress surrendered, secured to the people the liberty of remaining in their habitations, or of removing with their arms and property: and, similar conditions were at the same time agreed upon for the surrender of Guadix, Almeria, Almunezar, and the Alpujarras. But some of the conditions of the treaty then formed with the Christians were not made public: and, after getting possession of Baza, they forced the Moslems to quit the city, and to live in the suburbs, through fear of a revolt on any occasion.

From Baza, the King of Castille advanced to Almeria, which submitted to him: and, the Sultan of Guadix, who had gone to that city for the purpose of meeting the king, took the oath of allegiance to him, to hold what he possessed under his authority. Thence they repaired together to Guadix; where the Sultan put the King in possession of the castle, about the beginning of the month Safar of the same year.‡ All the country being now in reality subject to the King of Castille, except Granada, and its neighbouring towns, he placed Christian governors in the forts; and to the Moslem governors of the land, he gave money; not out of his regard for them, as they supposed, but to blind their understandings: for, his object was no other than to complete his preparations of men and stores, and to obviate the performance of what was right. Then he took Burju-l Malāha, and other castles; which he repaired, fortified, and filled with men and stores, as he had done with the forts before subdued. During this time, he manifested friendship and fidelity towards the Sultan of Guadix; but he endeavoured

* June, 1489 of Christ.

† About the 4th December, 1489 of Christ.

‡ About the 25th of December, 1489.

to disseminate evil reports with respect to the Sultan of Granada, "that
" the latter would surrender to him the Alhambra, in the same way as
" the uncle had done other forts and castles, and would submit to his
" authority : in return for which he would give him great riches, and
" what city of Andalusia he should choose to reside in." This notion,
too, the Sultan of Granada encouraged in him ; and he came with his
camp to take possession of the Alhambra, and of Granada, as it were
by a secret agreement. At this crisis, the Sultan in Granada assembled
the nobles and commoners, with the military and divines of the city ;
and informed them of what the King of Castille required, as well as of
the interruption occasioned by his uncle to the peace he had concluded
with the king : but, added he, " we have the choice of two things, and
" of two only—either to submit to him, or to fight." In consequence
of this representation, it was determined to uphold the cause of the faith,
to take the field with the Sultan, and still to execute the conditions of
the treaty entered into.

In the month Rajab of the year 895,* the King of Castille fixed his
camp in the meadow of Granada, and summoned the people to yield
to his authority ; intimating at the same time, that if they should refuse
to comply, he would destroy all their crops of grain : and, this threat he
really put in execution on witnessing the resistance they were disposed
to make. After some skirmishes between the Moslems and their enemy,
the latter departed ; and having destroyed some forts, and strengthened
others, he returned to his own territories. During his absence, the
Sultan of Granada attacked some strong places which were in the hands
of the Christians ; and, having taken them by storm, he garrisoned
them with Moslems. In the same month of Rajab, he also made an
excursion into the Alpujarras, took some towns, expelled the Christians
with the apostates, their associates, and, having made himself master
of Andarax, the whole district shook off its allegiance to the Christians,
and submitted to the Sultan. This place, however, was retaken in the
month Ramazān, by his uncle, who had fixed himself at Almeria, in

* End of May, or the beginning of June, 1490.

company with the Christians. The Sultan of Granada then laid siege to Hamdān, a strong place, filled with stores and provisions; and, towards the end of Ramazān, he set forth against Almunezar; but, before he had reduced the castle of Solobrena, which place he laid siege to, and gained possession of the town, intelligence reached him, that the King of Castille was again advancing to the meadow of Granada; the army, therefore, returned to that city on the third of the month Shavwāl.* After a stay, however, of eight days only, having demolished and evacuated Burju-l Malāha with another fort, the king broke up his encampment and proceeded to Guadix; from which place he expelled every Moslem, whether residing in the city or in the suburbs: he then destroyed the castle of Andarax; and, seemed to act as if afraid of losing the country. When the Sultan, Azzaghal, uncle to the Sultan of Granada, perceived this, he hastened to get on board a ship; and, having passed over to Oran, he went to Tilimsān, where he settled, and where his descendants still remain, being named after him, Banū Sultāni Andalus (sons of the Sultan of Andalusia).

After taking the precautions above-mentioned, the King of Castille returned to the farther side of his own territories, being engaged in war with the Franks; and, during his absence, the Granadians laid siege to Bursana,† which they reduced, and made the Christians in it captives: but, in their progress against the enemy, they were repulsed by the governor of Guadix, who had marched against them.

On the 12th of the latter Jumādy, in the year 896,‡ the enemy returned suddenly to the meadow of Granada; when he destroyed the crops, demolished the towns, and built a place with a wall and ditch round it.§ It was then reported, that he intended to leave the country; but, instead of doing so, he determined to lay siege to Granada, which he continued to straiten more and more daily. In this state the contest lasted seven months, when the Moslems became much distressed, and the enemy still persevered in the siege. A communication, however,

* About the 20th August, 1490.

† Seemingly the Purchena of the Spaniards.

‡ About the 22d of April, 1491.

§ Probably, Santa Fe.

was open between Granada and the Alpujarras ; so that the people could get many articles of comfort, as well as of necessity, from the quarter of Jubiles : but, on the commencement of winter, not only the luxuries of life were precluded, but with the setting in of the frost and snow, and the consequent difficulty of conveyance, the necessaries began to fail. The enemy, too, whose design it was to reduce the people by famine, had got possession of almost every place without the city ; and, the condition of the besieged was so distressing at the beginning of the year 897,* that many were forced by want to quit the city and flee to the Alpujarras : but, in the month Safar,† the privations of the people became intolerable ; they, therefore, appealed to the sovereign through their leaders ; and he, having assembled his officers of state and counsellors, took their advice on this weighty affair. Agreeably to their opinion, and in consequence of the discovery being made that the officers of the army were already in treaty with the Christians on the subject of surrendering the city, terms of capitulation were offered ; and, such nearly as had been granted to the people of Guadix were obtained ; with some additional articles, however, namely, that the King should agree to a strict observance of the conditions, after the Alhambra and the other fortifications should be delivered up to him ; and, that he should bind himself by oath, in the manner of the Christians, to the obligations of the treaty. The allegiance of the people was then testified in writing, which the king accepted ; and, the Christians took possession of the Alhambra on the second of the prior Rabīa,‡ the Sultan having first quitted it, and near five hundred of the principal people of the city being secured as pledges for the fidelity of the rest.

The conditions on which the city surrendered, were sixty seven ; among which were, that both small and great be secured in their persons, families, and possessions ; that they be continued in their dwellings, houses, residences, and domains ; that their laws be preserved entire as they were before, and that no one judge them, except by those laws ;

* About the 3d of November, 1491.

† December, 1491.

‡ About the 2d of January, 1492.

that their mosques and religious endowments remain as they were ; that no Christian enter the house of a Moslem, or strive to irritate him, and that none of the Moslems or Jews who had ruled over the Moslems by appointment of the Sultan, should again rule over them ; that all the captives in Granada, from what quarter soever they might come, but especially such nobles as were particularly mentioned, should be liberated ; that such Mahometan captives as had escaped from captivity, and had taken refuge in Granada, should not be reclaimed by their masters, or any others, but should be ransomed by the Sultan ; that none who wished to retire to Africa should be hindered, but that they should be conveyed thither in the king's ships within a time limited, and without any impost upon them, besides the mere charge for freight ; that no one should be punished for the crime of another ; that no convert from Christianity to Mahometanism should be compelled again to embrace his former religion ; that such Mahometan as became Christian, should be suffered to remain some time till his case was clear, when he should be questioned before both a Mahometan and a Christian judge, and in case he should then refuse to return to Islamism, he should be allowed to take his own course ; that no Moslem should be blamed for killing a Christian during the siege, nor should the plunder he might have taken from the Christians during the war be required of him ; that no Moslem should have Christian soldiers quartered on him, or be compelled to undertake a journey to any part ; that no increase should be made to the customary taxes, but that all the oppressive duties lately exacted, should be no longer levied ; that no Christian should look over the wall, or into the house, of a Moslem, or enter one of the Mahometan places of worship ; that the Moslems should be allowed to travel in the territories of the Christians, secure in both person and property ; that no badge or mark should be placed on the Moslems, as was done on the Jews and other dissenters in religion ; that no proclaimer of the public prayers—no one in the act of prayer, in the observation of a fast, or in the performance of other religious ceremony should be interrupted, but that any one laughing at him should be punished ; that they should be exonerated from debts on

certain years ; and, that if the king should assent to all these conditions, he should add his signature ; with other such like things, which we have omitted to mention. When this matter was settled, and the Christians had taken possession of the Alhambra, as well as of the city, they appointed a governor in the former, and judges, with other magistrates, in the latter. On learning these arrangements, the people of the Alpujarras assented to the peace, and were comprised in the Christian's dominion on the same terms as the people of Granada.

The King of Castille then commanded the necessary buildings to be erected in the Alhambra—to repair its towers and walls, and its fortifications to be strengthened ; he himself passing the day in it, but returning to his tent at night, till his dread of treachery was dissipated. He, also, entered the city ; and, by surveying it, obtained such information as he desired. Afterwards, he directed the Sultan of the Moslems to repair to the Alpujarras, which he promised should be his ; and, that he should reside at Andarax. The troops were accordingly withdrawn from that place, and the Sultan retired to it. In a short time, however, the king began to use artifice, for the purpose of getting the Sultan removed to Africa, pretending that the latter had really solicited permission to depart thither : and, he wrote to the governor of Almeria, saying, “ on the receipt of this, my letter, let no one hinder my ally, “ Abū Abdillāh, from going whither he desires across the straits ; but, “ let the reader expedite him on his journey, and perform towards him “ what is stipulated by treaty.” Agreeably to the intimation given in this letter, the Sultan set forth without delay ; and, after a difficult passage, in which he suffered much from want of provisions and from sickness, he landed at Melilla ; whence he departed to Fez, and settled there, not having been able to obtain a passage towards Marocco, as he had before sought.

No sooner had the Sultan left Spain, than the Christians began to break the treaty, and to infringe the stipulations, one after another ; and, in so hasty a manner, that by the year 904,[†] they had commenced the system of persuading, or rather constraining the people, to become

* Beginning on the 19th of August, 1498.

Christians, by various arguments and means. Amongst other things, they laid great stress on the letters which, they said, had been written by the Bishops, directing that all who had been converted from Christianity to Mahometanism, should be forced to return to their infidelity ; and this measure was adopted, notwithstanding the murmuring of the helpless populace. The next perfidious step the Christians took, was to say to a Moslem, “ thy ancestor was a Christian, who apostatised to “ Mahometanism ; do thou, therefore, return to Christianity.” When this proceeding had become public, the people of Albaizin rose up and slew their magistrates, which was made an excuse for forcing the Moslems to become Christians : as their enemies now said, “ an order “ has just issued from the king, that whoever resists a magistrate, must “ either suffer death, or become Christian ; all, therefore, whether, “ inhabitants of the city or country, must embrace the Christian faith.” This, however, the people refused to agree to, and shewed by arguments the justice of their cause ; but, arguments availed them not ; they, therefore, fled, and took refuge in various places, such as Belefique, Andarax, and the like. Thither the enemy, with his collected forces, pursued them ; and, by slaughter or captivity, extirpated all, except those who had betaken themselves to Mount Balanta (perhaps Blanco) for the Almighty aided them ; and in a severe battle gave them the victory over their enemies. After this engagement, in which the governor of Cordova was killed, and many other of their enemies, the Moslems obtained terms of capitulation ; and, in consequence, removed with their families and portable property to Fez, in Africa.

Notwithstanding this persecution, there were some of the Moslems who professed Christianity ; but, who worshipped God in private, and performed their prayers at the stated times : the Christians, however, were very strict in watching them ; and, many were burnt for this conscientious adherence to their religion. The Moslems were also forbidden to carry even small knives, much less were they allowed the use of other instruments of iron : still in this century, near to the year 1017 of the Hijra,* they maintained resistance against the Christians in certain

* About 1608 of Christ.

mountains; and, emigrated by thousands to Fez, as well as to Tilimsān, by the way of Oran. These, however, were attacked and plundered on the roads by the Arabs, and such as fear not God; and very few of them escaped. Multitudes, also, directed their course to Tunis; and, having for the most part accomplished their journey in safety, they peopled the desert towns and districts of that country. Some of them in like manner settled at Tetuan, Salee, and on the miserable islets of the coast: and, since the Sultan of Marocco has taken into his service a great body of them, they are become famous for their warlike enterprises against the infidels by sea; and, having taken up their abode at Salee, they have fortified the castle, and built themselves houses, baths, and palaces at that place, which they still continue to inhabit. Many of these fugitives withdrew to Constantinople, Egypt, and Syria, where they settled. As to the Sultan, Abū Abdillāh Muhammad, son of the Sultān Abū-l Hasan, son of the Sultān Saad, son of the Emir Aly, son of the Sultān Yūsuf, son of the Sultān Muhammad Alghany Billāh, under whom Granada fell, and the dominion of Islamism terminated in Spain, he settled at Fez, as before-mentioned, built some palaces there which the author of this work had seen, in imitation of those he had left in Spain, and died in the year 940,* leaving two sons, Yūsuf and Ahmad. Of his posterity, there were some remaining at Fez in the year 1037,† and the author saw them there, reduced to the necessity of subsisting on what they could obtain from the charitable bequests made for the support of the poor, and regarded, in fact, merely as beggars.

* Beginning on the 22d July, 1533 of Christ. † Which began on the 1st September, 1627.

CHAPTER V.

TOPOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPAL SEATS OF THE MAHOMETAN EMPIRE IN SPAIN.

THE preceding narrative has shewn with what rapidity the Moslems conquered the Spanish Peninsula, together with the rise, progress, and declension of the Mahometan power. Almost the whole of that country, as well as Portugal, yielded to the victorious arms of the Arabs. The two principal seats of government, which still exhibit striking remains of Arabian art, were Cordova and Granada: the former city became the metropolis of the Khilāfat under Abdurrahmān I.: and the latter was the capital of the kingdom of Granada, founded by Muhammad ibnu-l-Ahmar, in the year of the Hijra 634, A. D. 1236. On the decline of Cordova, the governors of the principal towns arrogated to themselves the powers and title of royalty: and hence Toledo, Saragossa, Seville, Valencia, Murcia, Badajos, and some other less important places, had their respective sovereigns. In consequence of their mutual jealousies, frequent wars, massacres, and intestine commotions, these petty monarchs were gradually subdued by the arms of Arragon, Castille, and Leon; while the little kingdom of Granada, reinforced by fugitive Moslems from the cities conquered by the Spaniards, continued for three successive centuries to increase in population, wealth, and civilization; and was governed by the laws and religion of Muhammad, until it was finally destroyed by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492.

The industry and commercial enterprise of the Arabs, which were encouraged by the wise policy of their greatest monarchs, contributed both to enrich and to adorn their country: and the remains of Arabian art still existing in Spain, together with the united testimonies of their historians, impress the mind with a high sense of their former grandeur.

It is, however, to be regretted, that no authentic description of the Peninsula, while under the dominion of the Moors, is accessible to European readers: and, consequently, our information is, comparatively speaking, scanty and imperfect.* But, though the writer of this article has not been able to procure a general account of Arabian Spain, yet happily there are extant numerous and valuable particulars relative to Cordova and Granada, the two principal seats of government: the following accounts, therefore, which are chiefly confined to them, are given on the authority of Arabian historians; and, it is hoped, will convey an interesting and novel idea of those celebrated kingdoms.

SECTION I

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF CORDOVA.

Ancient State of the City—Edifices erected by the Arabs—The royal Palace of Azzahrā—Palace of Azzāhira—Description of the Mosque—University of Cordova—Present State of the City.

CORDOVA, at present, the second city in the province of Andalusia, forms a kind of semi-circular amphitheatre on the right bank of the Guadalquivir; and is situated in an extensive and fertile plain at the foot of the ridge of mountains, called the Sierra Morena. It is distant from Madrid about 210 miles south-west, 112 miles north-west of Malaga, 84 miles north-east of Seville, and in the north latitude of $37^{\circ} 40''$.

* The celebrated Sharīf Idrīsī, better known by the appellation of the Nubian geographer, wrote in Arabic a "Description of Spain," while under the dominion of the Moors. The original work was never published: but a Spanish translation of it was executed by Don Joseph Antonio Conde; who added notes, comparing the present state of the country with that described by the Arabian author. It was printed at the royal printing office at Madrid in 1799. This valuable treatise the author has in vain endeavoured to procure for the present work.

It is a place of considerable antiquity, although the name of its founder has never been ascertained. By some authors, its erection is ascribed to the Phœnicians : and Silius Italicus, when enumerating the various colonies whose troops followed Hannibal into Italy, expressly mentions Cordova :

Nec decus auriferæ cessavit Corduba terræ.

De Bell. Punic. lib. iii. v. 401.

From which passage it should seem that this city was, even at that time, a place of considerable importance ; though Strabo * positively affirms it to have been founded by Marcellus during the civil wars between Pompey and Cæsar, and consequently long after the period mentioned by Silius Italicus.

Cordova was called first Corduba, and afterwards Colonia Patricia, or simply Patricia, as appears from inscriptions on the numerous medals which have been discovered in this city and its neighbourhood. From the Romans it passed successively under the dominion of the Goths and Arabs : and, while the latter swayed the sceptre of Spain, Cordova became pre-eminently distinguished as the court of the western Khalifs, and as the seat of the arts, sciences, and literature.

Of the splendour of Cordova, during the period when that city was the metropolis of Arabian Spain, some idea may be formed, from the following accounts which have been transmitted to us by Arabian historians.

ASHSHAKANDY † relates, in one of his works, that through Cordova, with the continuations of Azzahrâ and Azzâhira, he had travelled ten miles by the light of lamps along an uninterrupted extent of buildings. It is, moreover, said that the buildings were continued to a length of eight parasangs, and a breadth of two ; or, twenty-four miles one way, and

* Strabo, lib. iii. tom. i. p. 185. (ed. Oxon.)

† Abū-l Walīd Ismāīl, an eminent man from Shakanda, which is an ancient town on the south side of the river, over against Cordova. He wrote a treatise on the excellence of Andalusia, in opposition to Abū Yahya, who vindicated that of Africa ; and died at Seville in the year 629.

six the other: all this space being occupied by houses, palaces, mosques, and gardens, along the bank of the Guadalquivir. The circumference of the walls of the city, exclusive of the suburbs, was thirty-three thousand, one hundred cubits; * but, the suburbs consisted of twenty-one divisions; in each of which were mosques, markets, and baths, adequate to the wants of the inhabitants; so that the people of one division had no occasion, on those accounts, to enter another. During the civil wars that arose in the year 400 (A. D. 1009), and in which the decay of Cordova began, a ditch was dug round the suburbs, which were further surrounded by a wall built at the same time.

Without Cordova, there were three thousand towns and villages appertaining to it; in each of which resided a divine of known erudition, who was appointed to instruct the people in the rules and ordinances of their religion. These officers were the patrons of the people: and every Friday, such of them as were in the neighbourhood of the city, came to public prayers with the Khalif in the great mosque; to whom, after saluting him, each reported the state of his own town. In the days of Ibn Aby Aamir, the revenues of Cordova are said to have amounted to three millions of dinars, at a medium: and, in all the west, there was no city comparable to it, either with respect to population, extent of buildings, size of markets, cleanliness of streets, religious edifices, or number of baths and inns: in point of magnitude, it approached very near to Baghdad.

The people of Cordova were proverbially notorious for resisting their kings, and abusing their rulers: on which account, one of their governors, being asked his opinion of them, said, "they are like the camel, which fails not to complain, whether you lighten, or aggravate, its burthen; so that there is no discovering what they are pleased with, that you may seek it, nor what they dislike, that you may avoid it." They were, further, renowned for the elegance of their dress, attention

* Ibn Ghālib, an Imām of Cordova, says, fourteen miles; and another author estimates the circuit of the city at fourteen miles, and its breadth at two miles: but, the first of these authors comprises Shakanda, a division on the opposite side of the river, in the city, because it is an ancient walled town, and the latter may possibly do the same.

to the duties of religion, pride in their great mosque, destruction of wine-shops wherever they might be discovered, connivance at various illicit practices, and glory in nobility of descent, as well as in warlike enterprise and science. Cordova likewise possessed a greater abundance of books than any other city of Spain, and its inhabitants were the most impassioned collectors of them in the world ; so that, among them, a man in power, who happened to be totally illiterate, would spare no labour or expense in amassing books, though merely for the sake of having it reported that he had a library, or was possessed of some unique work, or copy of a work. Of this passion for books, Alkhazramy has recorded the following instance. “ During my residence in Cordova,” says he, “ I attended the book-market for a considerable time, “ in the hope of finding a certain work which I was very anxious to “ obtain ; and, at length, to my great joy, it presented itself in an “ elegant hand, with an appropriate commentary. I then bid for it, “ and kept encreasing my bidding ; but still it returned to the crier,* “ though the price was excessive. Surprised at this, I asked the man to “ shew me who had outbid me for this book, to a sum so much beyond “ its worth ; and he pointed out a person in the dress of a magistrate ; “ to whom, on approaching, I said, May God exalt his worship the “ Doctor ! if you are desirous of this book, I will relinquish it ; for, “ through our mutual biddings, the price is much above its value : he “ replied, ‘ I am no doctor, neither do I know what the book contains ; “ ‘ but I am anxious to complete a library which I am forming, that I “ ‘ may appear respectable among the chiefs of the city : and, as there “ ‘ yet remains a vacant place capable of holding this book, which is “ ‘ beautifully written and elegantly bound, I admire it and care not “ ‘ how high I raise its price ; praise to God for the means he has been “ ‘ pleased to grant me, which are not small !’ Being at last induced “ to abandon the competition, I said, Well ! means are not abundant, “ except with one like thee ; and, according to the proverb, ‘ he gives “ ‘ away the nut who has no teeth.’ I, who am not ignorant of the

* Evidently, a vendor similar to the modern auctioneers : and, this sale must have been conducted on the principles of an auction.

“ contents of this book, and wish to make some use of it, having but
“ scanty means, am of necessity debarred it.” Ibn Saïd further relates,
that in a dispute between Ibn Rashîd and Ibn Zahr, before Mansûr,
son of Abdulmûmin, Ibn Rashîd remarked to his opponent, “ I know
“ not what thou sayest, except that when a learned man dies at Seville,
“ and his books are to be sold, they are usually conveyed to Cordova
“ for that purpose ; and, that when a musician dies at Cordova, and
“ his effects are to be disposed of, the custom is to send them to
“ Seville.”

Cordova is described by Ibn Bashkuvâl as an ancient city, over
which various dynasties of the gentile sovereigns have successively ruled,
since the age of the prophet Moses. In it are primeval buildings and
wonderful remains, beyond description, as well of the Greeks, as of
the Romans, Goths, and other people that have passed away. After
these, the Khalifs of the house of Marwân invented for the palace
of that city, elegant rarities ; erected in it amazing structures, with de-
lightful gardens ; and conveyed to every quarter of it, at a vast expense,
sweet water from the distant mountains, by means of leaden pipes ;
from which it flowed into cisterns made of gold, silver, or plated brass,
in various shapes ; as well as into vast lakes, curious basons, and
amazing reservoirs, formed of the choicest Grecian marble, wonderfully
carved. In this palace, too, was the high jet d'eau, to which no equal
had been seen in the east of the earth or in the west.

Beside the royal palace, above alluded to, there were several other
celebrated palaces and gardens, distinguished by various names.
One of the seven gates of the city had a balcony, unequalled in the
world ; over this was a gate of iron, to which was affixed a brass
ring, in the likeness of a man with his mouth open, which the Emir
Muhammad brought from Narbonne in France, when he subdued that
city.

Among the pleasure gardens or villas in Cordova, was that celebrated
one constructed by Abdurrahmân the first, at the commencement of his
reign, to the north-west of the city, and called the Munyatu-r Rusâfat.
This mansion was the favourite residence of its founder, who named it

Rusāfat, after a similar edifice erected by his grandfather, Hishām, in Syria: and, it continued to be enlarged, beautified, and frequented by his successors. The palace was beautiful, and the gardens were not only extensive, but stocked with the choicest trees that could be collected, and that produced the most delicious fruits: from them, too, the gardens of Spain, in general, were shortly supplied with plants; because their excellence was manifest over those of similar kinds: but, the Safary* peach, which in point of flavour, smallness of stone, abundance of juice, and beauty of form, has no equal, deduces its origin in Spain from these gardens. The manner of the introduction of this fruit into the country, and the reason of its name, are thus related. Abdurrahmān sent an envoy to Syria for his two sisters; and the man brought back many rarities, amongst which were some of these peaches from the gardens of Arrusāfat. Being proud of them, the monarch shewed them to his friends; and Safaru-bn Ubaid, happening to have one presented to him, was so delighted with it, that he preserved the stone; and from it raised the tree, whence the peach, called after him, Safary, has been propagated in Spain.

Without the city, was the palace of the Saiyid, Abū Yahya, erected on arches over the Guadalquivir. Its founder being asked why he, who had such an aversion for the people of Cordova, should take delight in building this palace; he replied, that knowing how soon a governor was forgotten by them, after his removal, and that they held him in no estimation, when compared to the Khalifs of the house of Marwān, he wished to leave in the place some memorial of himself, in spite of them. Besides this, there were other celebrated palaces and gardens; such as the palace of Dimishc (Damascus), built by the Khalifs of the house of Ummayya, in a superb style; the Munyatu-z Zubair, ascribed to Azzubair, a governor of Cordova; the Munyatu-l Mushafy; the Kasru-l Fārisy, a palace without the city; the Fahsu-s Surādik; and the Sadd.

The river, Guadalquivir, is less at Cordova than at Seville; its origin

* This peach is still cultivated in some parts of Spain, particularly at Aranjuez; and, is allowed by those who have tasted it to merit fully the eulogium here given.

being in the neighbourhood of Segura ; whence one stream flows eastward to Murcia, and the other to Cordova and Seville. Over this river is a stone bridge, one of the most wonderful performance of art in Spain : it was built by Assamhu-bn Mālik, one of the first Emirs, as is generally understood : or, as some say, by Abdurrahmānu-bn Ubaidillāh, his successor, at the instance of the Khalif Omar, son of Abdulazīz : but, it was afterwards rebuilt and beautified by the Khalifs of the house of Ummaiya in Spain.* According to tradition, however, there was a bridge in the same place, built about two hundred years before the arrival of the Arabs ; but, its arches being broken down, and its upper works demolished by time, Assamh raised his bridge, in the year 101 of the Hijra, on the still remaining piers of the former one. The number of arches is seventeen ; † the breadth of each being fifty spans, and the distance between each, fifty spans. The length of the bridge is eight hundred baa, ‡ its breadth twenty baa, and its height sixty cubits : and, there are on it nineteen turrets.

But one of the most wonderful edifices ever raised by man, was the palace or city of Azzahrā, which was built by the Khalif Annāsir, at the instigation of his mistress, Azzahrā, and named after her. The occasion of it is thus related : one of the Khalif's concubines happening to die, possessed of considerable property, he commanded that it should be expended in the redemption of captives ; but, on enquiry, not one Moslem captive could be found in the dominions of the Franks : at which circumstance, Annāsir rejoiced and returned thanks to God. His mistress, Azzahrā, whom he loved excessively, then said to him, “ build a city that may take my name, and be mine.” In compliance with her request, Annāsir, who surpassed his ancestors Muhammad, Abdurrahmānu-l Ausat, and Alhakam, in fondness of building, § founded

* The Khalif Hishām. See a view of the bridge at Cordova, in plate IX. of the “ Arabian Antiquities of Spain.”

† In another part it is said eighteen.

‡ The baa is an Arabic measure, apparently the same, or nearly the same, as the cubit.

§ Such was Annāsir's passion for building, that he erected monuments of his greatness in all parts of Spain : and, through his unremitted attention to the edifice of Azzahrā, he absented himself three successive Fridays from the service at the great mosque ; on which account, the Cādhy

this city under mount Alarūs, at the distance of about three miles to the north from the present Cordova: Ibn Khallakān, however, says that the distance is four miles and one third. This structure, one of the most stupendous, most renowned, and most magnificent, erected by man, was begun on the first of Muharram in the year 325: * and, to accomplish it as well as his other undertakings in building, Annāsir collected the most skilful architects and masons from Baghdad, Constantinople, and other parts. The revenues of Spain in his days amounted to five millions four hundred and eighty thousand dinars, collected by taxes; and seven hundred and sixty-five thousand dinars, derived from markets; besides the tribute of one-fifth, levied on Christians and Jews, the sum of which equalled all the rest. Of this vast income, Annāsir appropriated one-third to the army, one-third to the treasury, and the remaining third to public buildings, of which Azzahrā was the principal.

The number of men daily employed on this structure was ten thousand. The number of mules fourteen hundred, or, as some say, more than that number; and four hundred camels, belonging to the Khalif; and, of beasts of burthen, hired for the occasion, were one thousand mules, † engaged at the rate of three mithcāls a month each. For the building, eleven hundred burthens of lime and gypsum were conveyed every third day. The daily pay of one part of the men employed, was a dirhem and a half each, and of another part two dirhems and one-third. The number of cut-stones, expended every day, was six thousand; besides stones used in paving, uncut-stones, and bricks. The cost of each (block or pillar of) marble, whether great or small, was ten dinars, exclusive of the conveyance and carving. The white marble was brought from Almeria; the streaked ‡ marble from Ziya; the rose-

Mundhir, who officiated in that place of worship, took the liberty of reproving the Khalif in public for his neglect.

* About the 19th of November 936 of Christ.

† Elsewhere, however, the number of beasts of burthen, employed in the building of Azzahrā is said to be fifteen hundred: so that, perhaps, the four hundred camels compose a part of this number, and the remaining thousand or eleven hundred might be hired mules; making fourteen or fifteen hundred to be the whole number of beasts of burthen actually engaged on this service.

‡ The word here translated "streaked," is not well known. In the Arabic it is AlmujaZZa, and Jaza signifies the onyx; whence this may possibly be a sort of marble resembling that precious stone.

coloured and green, from the church of Isfākis, in Ifrikia, and from Carthage.* The carved gilt fountain was from Syria, or, as some say, from Constantinople: on it were engravings and images of human figures; and, the value of it was beyond estimation. When this was brought by Ahmad, the philosopher,† with Rabīa, the Bishop, the Khalif commanded it to be placed in the middle of‡ the eastern hall, called Almūnis; and, on it he fixed twelve figures. The first was the likeness of a lion, on one side of which was an antelope, and on the other a crocodile; opposite to the lion were a dragon and an eagle; and, on the two wings of the groupe were a pigeon, a falcon, a peacock, a hen, a cock, a kite, and a vulture. These figures were made in the royal manufactory of Cordova, were of pure gold, set with precious stones: and, the water of the fountain flowed streaming through their mouths.

In this palace, also, he built a hall, called the palace of the Khilāfat; the roof of which was of gold and of transparent blocks of marble of various colours, with the walls of the like structure: and, in the centre was fixed the pearl, presented to Annāsir by Leo, Emperor of Constantinople. In the middle of this hall, or saloon, was a large marble basin filled with quicksilver: and, on each side, were eight doors, hung on arches§ of ivory and ebony, ornamented with gold and precious stones of various kinds, and, resting on pillars of variegated marble and pure chrystal. On the admission of the sun's rays through these doors, the splendour reflected from the roof and the walls was such as to deprive the beholder of sight. When Annāsir wished to surprise or terrify any one in his company, he would make a sign to one of his

* Another author says that the marble was brought from Carthage, Ifrikia, and Tunis, by Abdullāhu-bn Yūnas, chief builder, and Aliyu-bn Jaafar, the Alexandrian; and, that Annāsir paid them for every small block of marble, three dinars, and for every column, eight dinars. The place above written Ziya, is not known. It can hardly mean Siena? The chief geometrician, or, perhaps, architect, is, in another part, called Muslimatu-bn Abdillāh.

† Elsewhere called Ahmad, the Greek.

‡ Elsewhere said, "in the dormitory of the eastern hall."

§ Possibly, the meaning may be rather, axis.

Sclavonians to put the quicksilver in motion ; the glare from which would strike the eye of the spectator like flashes of lightning, and alarm all present with the idea, that the room was in motion, as long as the agitation of the quicksilver continued. To this saloon, no one had before constructed any thing similar : and such was the abundance of quicksilver among the Arabs in Spain, that the design was formed of converting it to the purpose above described.*

Ibn Haiyān relates, that this palace comprised four thousand three hundred and twelve columns, of various sizes. Of these, one thousand and thirteen are said to have been collected from Ifrikia ; nineteen from the countries of the Franks ; and the Emperor of Constantinople presented Annāsir with one hundred and forty ; the rest were from different parts of Spain, as Tarragona and other places. The number of doors of every description, reckoning each flap or fold as one, exceeded fifteen thousand : and, all were covered with iron or copper, plated or gilt.

The temple, or mosque, in the palace of Azzahrā, was raised in the space of forty-eight days, though faultless in its construction. On this part of the building, one thousand skilful workmen were employed ; of which three hundred were masons, two hundred were carpenters, and the remaining five hundred were other mechanics and labourers of different kinds. This edifice had five aisles of wonderful fabric : the breadth of the central aisle was thirteen cubits from east to west ; and that of each of the four surrounding ones was twelve cubits.† The

* Allusion is also made to an alcove or arched building (probably a room surmounted with a dome) which was of wonderful structure, and inlaid with gold and silver. The lesser dome, too, opposite to the part hereafter translated “ polished balcony,” is said to have been originally covered with tiles of gold and silver ; but, in consequence of a reproof from the Cādhy, Mundhir, who ventured to express to his sovereign, even, his disapprobation of this proud display, the covering was changed for earthen tiles, similar to those used on the rest of the structure.

† There appears a disagreement of two cubits in the measurement of the breadth of the mosque ; as, the aisles are stated to be, one of them thirteen cubits, and the other four, each twelve cubits, in breadth ; but the whole breadth is rated at fifty-nine cubits only. The Arabic terms of architecture are, generally, retained in the translation ; because, as the structure and divisions of the Mahometan temples are very different from ours, corresponding names are, consequently, wanting in our language for the various parts : and the meaning of these terms will, perhaps, be best dis-

length from the Kibla to the Jauf, without the Maksūra, was thirty cubits. The length of the open court from the Kibla to the Jauf, was forty-three cubits; and the breadth of it, from east to west, was forty-one cubits: in the centre of this was a fountain; and the whole was paved with rare marble. The entire length of the mosque, from the Kibla to the Jauf, exclusive of the Mihrāb, which was a square of ten cubits by ten, was ninety seven cubits, and the breadth from east to west was fifty-nine cubits. On the day of the completion of this building, which was Thursday, the 23d of Shaabān, in the year 329 of the Hijra,* Annāsir caused to be erected a pulpit of extraordinary design and beauty; and, around it, he formed an extensive Maksūra, of a wonderful construction.

There were, also, two public baths in Azzahrā; one for the court, and one for the common people. And such was Annāsir's care for this vast undertaking, that he would commit the superintendence of it to none other than his son and successor, Alhakam. Notwithstanding the number of workmen employed, as above noted, this structure occupied the twenty-five years which remained of Annāsir's life, after the commencement of the building; and all the fifteen years and some months of his son's reign. A certain officer in Azzahrā fixes the annual expense of this building at three hundred thousand dinars during the twenty-

covered by a reference to the plan of the great mosque at Cordova. (See the "Arabian Antiquities of Spain, Plate I.). The Kibla is that side of the building which is supposed to regard Mecca; and the word seems, also, used to denote that portion of the interior of the mosque, which, adjoining to this side, was occupied by the Mihrāb and Maksūra: the Jauf is the great body of the temple, extending from the Maksūra to the side of the building opposite to the Kibla; or, it is that side of the building itself: the Mihrāb is the station of the officiating priest, when repeating the public prayers; and, the Maksūra is a screen or inclosure, surrounding the Mihrāb, with a portion of the mosque peculiar to the prince. The word here written aisle, means the space between each row of pillars, from the Kibla to the Jauf; and, might have been more appropriately translated alley or walk, if either of the latter words conveyed an adequate idea to the English reader: for there is no part of the building which can be denominated the nave; and, when there is more than one series or extension on each side of the central division, it cannot be rightly designated by the term aisle, in the sense of a wing.

* About the 23d of May, A. D. 941.

five years which Annāsir lived after the commencement : and, on his making a computation of the whole of the cost, it was found to amount to fifteen Bait Māl.* When this most beautiful and magnificent palace was completed, all who saw it agreed that there was nothing in the land of Islām to be compared with it : and, all travellers from distant countries, as well as of different ranks, whether princes, envoys, or merchants, who were conversant in edifices of the same kind, and who had surveyed this, confessed that they had not only not beheld any thing like it, but that they had not even heard of or imagined any thing similar : so that it was the chief wonder which travellers to Spain in those ages desired to behold : and, the descriptions of it are as copious as the proofs of their correctness are abundant. Had this palace, indeed, possessed nothing more than the polished balcony overhanging the matchless gardens, with the golden saloon and circular pavilion, and were regard had at the same time to the masterly workmanship of the structure, the boldness of the design, the beauty of the proportions, the elegance of the ornaments and decorations, whether of carved marble or of molten gold, the columns that seemed from their symmetry as if cast in moulds, the paintings that equalled the choicest bowers themselves, the vast but firmly constructed lake, and the fountains with the images of exquisite design—imagination could not even then have found out the way to describe it.†

Some historians of Spain have recorded, that the number of male servants in Azzahrā was thirteen thousand seven hundred and fifty ; to whom the allowance of flesh meat, exclusive of fowls and fish, was thirteen thousand pounds daily : and that the number of women of various classes, or servants of other servants, was six thousand three

* Bait Māl literally signifies a treasury ; but, in the sense of a definite quantity, as here apparently intended, the meaning is not known to the translator : if the sum given above, however, is the total of the expense during Annāsir's reign only, at the rate before denoted, the Bait Māl then evidently signifies five hundred thousand dinars.

† Besides the buildings appropriated to the use of the court, there were, in Azzahrā, extensive receptacles and enclosures for wild beasts, spaces netted over for birds, and manufactories of arms and instruments of war, as well as of articles of dress and other things.

hundred and fourteen. Besides these, there were three thousand seven hundred and fifty Slavonian servants;* but some authors say three thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, to whom thirteen thousand pounds of flesh meat were issued daily, some receiving ten pounds each, and others less, besides fowls, partridges, birds of other sorts, and fish of various kinds: it is, however, said that the Slavonians amounted to six thousand and eighty-seven. The allowance of bread daily for the fish in the lake of Azzahrā, was twelve thousand loaves; and six Kafīz† of black pulse, also, were macerated for them every day.

Over the gate of the palace, Annāsir placed a statue of his mistress, after whom it was named: and, when she herself came to inhabit the place, noticing the contrast between the fairness of the structure and the dark hue of the adjoining mountain, she said, “see you not, my lord, the beauty of this fair damsel in the embrace of that negro?” on account of which remark, he gave orders for the removal of the mountain: but, some one of the company representing to him that it was impossible for man to accomplish such a task, he directed that the trees then growing on it should be cut down, and that the whole should be covered with fig and almond trees; so that no object could be more delightful than this became, especially in the season of flowering and the shooting forth of the leaves.

The length of the palace of Azzahrā from east to west, was two thousand seven hundred cubits; and, its breadth was fifteen hundred cubits. Magnificent, however, as this palace was, it existed not long in its original state: for, in the contention between Abdurrahīmān, son of Mansūr ubn Aby Aamir, and Muhammad, surnamed Almuḥdy, great grandson of Annāsir, Cordova was taken, and the demolition of

* Perhaps employed as guards.

† A large dry measure, containing twelve Saa; and, each Saa is about five pounds and one third in weight. In another part of the original manuscript, however, it is said, that eight hundred loaves were furnished daily for the fish in the lakes; whence it seems likely that an error exists here. Perhaps the quantity of twelve thousand loaves was the daily allowance to the establishment of Azzahrā; and, eight hundred, with the black pulse, the actual distribution to the fishes.

Azzahrā begun ; which was in the year 399.* The victorious army, under Almuḥdy, being on that occasion, composed of the lowest class of the people, such as coal-heavers, butchers, and dung-men, they attacked the nobles, deposed the Khalif, Hishām, and greatly injured his palace of Azzahrā.

On the usurpation of the government from Hishām, son of Alhakam, by his Hājib, Mansūr-bn Aby Aamir, the latter shut up the Khalif in Azzahrā ; and, for his own security and residence, built the palace of Azzāhira, on the bank of the river, adjoining to that of the Khalif. This edifice was begun in 368 ;† and, the greatest part of it being completed in two years, Mansūr deposited there his treasures, stores, and arms ; and, with his family, servants, guards, and satellites entered it in the year 370. Within it he fixed the offices of state ; formed magazines of grain, and erected mills ; and, having granted the adjoining lands to his Vizirs, Secretaries, Generals, and Chamberlains, they built magnificent houses and palaces in its neighbourhood. But, others, also, being ambitious of fixing their abodes near it, to approach the ruler of the state, eagerly built all around : so that the suburbs of Azzāhira, at length, joined those of Cordova. The Khalif, then, became divested of every thing but a name ; as Mansūr not only wrote to all the provinces of Spain and Africa, commanding that the tribute should be forwarded to his palace, and that the governors and agents in any affair should withhold their attendance on the Khalif, and proceed to his court ; but, he even shut up the gate of the Khalif's residence, by means of the guards and door-keepers stationed for that purpose ; so that the nominal sovereign, of whom mention was made only on the coins, and in the public prayers, was totally excluded from his friends, and seen by neither high nor low : whilst Mansūr held his stated courts in Azzāhira, to which the ministers, chiefs, and generals flocked ; received all addresses ; established in the gate of it a prætorian tribunal, with a president, in the manner of the Khalifs ; and, was resorted to by the people from every quarter.

This palace, however, like that of Azzahrā, was attacked by the po-

* A. D. 1008 or 1009.

† 978 or 979 of Christ.

pular army of Almuḥdy in the year 399; and is said to have then been levelled with the ground, as being the residence of the usurpers against whom that war was raised. This Almuḥdy, whom Almansūr thought not worthy his notice, not only cut off the family and annihilated the dynasty of the latter, but demolished the very edifices which he had founded.*

In the beginning of the year 329,† Annāsir finished the construction of an astonishing aqueduct, which conveyed excellent water by means of canals geometrically formed on arches, from the mountain of Cordova to the palace of Annāūra (or the water-works) in the city. There the water was discharged into a vast reservoir; on which was a great and terrible lion of so admirable a figure, that none devised by the princes of former times had been seen more beautiful. It was covered with the purest gold; and its two eyes were two jewels. A gigantic Fuller, moreover, was represented close behind the lion, pouring out water from his mouth upon him in the reservoir. After supplying the gardens of this palace in all parts, notwithstanding their great extent, the superabundant water served to augment the Guadalquivir: and this aqueduct, by which the water began to flow on Thursday, the tenth of the latter Jumādy, was constructed in the short space of fourteen months. When we consider its length, together with the unfavourable nature of the country through which it was brought, the magnitude of its buildings, the height of the towers‡ over which the water passed, and its reservoir, with the image from which the water flowed, this may be numbered among the most astonishing performances of kings in every age.

The great Mosque of Cordova § was begun by Abdurrahmān, surnamed Addākhil (the enterer); who, having established his sovereignty

* The supposed site of the palace of Azzahrā is still frequented by the Spaniards, by whom it is greatly admired for the beauty of its surrounding scenery, and the salubrious quality of the air and water.

† 940 or 941 of Christ.

‡ Perhaps, ventilating towers.

§ Of this Mosque and its inscriptions, Mr. Murphy's "Arabian Antiquities of Spain" present several interesting views. See Plates I. to VIII.

in Spain, applied himself to enlarge and adorn Cordova, his capital : but, his son Hishām may be said to have completed this undertaking, which the father left in an unfinished state ; though succeeding Khalifs so continued to augment it, that the whole edifice may be ascribed to the concentrated piety of eight sovereigns of the house of Ummayya. The spot, on which it is founded, being the site of a Christian church, was bought by Abdurrahmān for one hundred thousand dinars ; and, he is said to have expended on building eighty thousand dinars : but, his son and successor, Hishām, has the credit of devoting, to the continuance of the work, one hundred and sixty-one thousand dinars, all derived from tribute paid by the infidels.

Beside the continual additions made by succeeding Khalifs to this mosque, Almansūru-bn Aby Aamir, who supplanted their dynasty, greatly extended the edifice : and, in what he did, he employed Christian captives, taken from Castille and other parts, who laboured in chains on this occasion. Having determined to augment the mosque, Almansūr went himself to the owners of the houses he wished to remove for this purpose ; and, after they had agreed to sell him their possessions at a very high price, he gave them double of what they demanded, and to each of them another house to reside in : but, coming to a woman who had a house in the court of the mosque, with a palm-tree belonging to it, she refused to part with them on any terms, except for another habitation with a palm-tree ; which he engaged to procure her, if it should cost even a bait māl ;* and, one was obtained for her at an exorbitant price.

The author of the work entitled Majmū'ul Muftarik, says, that the length of the roof over the aisles, before the augmentation (by Almansūr), was two hundred and twenty-five cubits from the Kibla to the Jauf ; the breadth, from east to west, was one hundred and five cubits ; and the whole length was three hundred and thirty cubits : but Almansūr added, by the command of the Khalif Hishām,† to the breadth on the east side, eighty cubits. The number of aisles was at first eleven ; the

* Literally, “ a house of wealth ; ” but from the use made of this term before, it seems to mean the definite sum of five hundred thousand dinars.

† Hishām, son of Alhakam.

breadth of the central one being sixteen cubits ; that of each of the two next, both to the east and the west, fourteen cubits ; and that of each of the remaining six, eleven cubits : but Almansūr added eight ailes of ten cubits each in breadth ; and this addition was completed in two years and a half, Almansūr himself labouring at it. The length of the court, from east to west, was one hundred and twenty-eight cubits ; its breadth, from the Kibla to the Jauf, one hundred and five cubits ; the breadth of the porticos of the colonnade that surrounded the court, was ten cubits ; and the area of the building * is thirty-three thousand one hundred and fifty square cubits.

Ibn Saïd, copying from Ibn Bashkuval, says that the length of the mosque of Cordova, from the Kibla to the Jauf, is three hundred and thirty cubits ; of the court, the uncovered part is eighty cubits, and the rest is tiled over : the breadth of the mosque from west to east is two hundred and fifty cubits : the number of aisles, comprising those built to the north by Almansūr, is nineteen. The number of doors, great and small, is twenty-one : † namely, on the west side, nine ; of which there is one great door, by which the women entered into their recesses : on the east side, nine ; of which eight are for the men : on the north side, three doors ; of which there are two large ones for the men, and one for the women to enter by into their recesses : but, on the side of the Kibla, there was only one door, which was on the south side of the Maksūra, and through which, by an enclosed way reaching from the Khalif's palace, the sovereign passed on a Friday into the mosque, to join in the public worship. All these doors were covered with the choicest Andalusian brass, in an astonishing manner. Another author, however, describes the doors as being only nine ; ‡ of which three opened into the court : namely, one to the east, one to the west, and one to the Jauf ; four, into the aisles ; namely, two on the east, and two on the west sides ; and two led into the recesses for women.

* Not of the mosque after the additions made by Almansūr ; but nearly what it was previously.

† Doors for the public, apparently ; as the Khalif's seems not included in this number : and, each is said to have been furnished with a ring of exquisite design and fabric.

‡ Perhaps the real number, before the augmentation of Almansūr.

The number of columns,* all of marble, is, according to one author, twelve hundred and ninety-three; but, another author says, fourteen hundred and seventeen: whilst Ibn Bashkuval states them to be fourteen hundred and nine; of which the latter describes one hundred and nineteen to be comprised in the Maksūra, which Alhakam constructed. This Maksūra, which is of rare construction, extends across five aisles in the addition made by Alhakam, and its wings pass through the remaining six, of which three are on each side: its length, from west to east, is seventy-five cubits; its breadth, from the wooden screen or partition to the columns of the mosque in the Kibla, is twenty-two cubits; the height of it to the pinnacles, is eight cubits; and the height of each pinnacle is three spans. To this Maksūra were three doors of an extraordinary fabric, and beautifully carved, leading by the east, west, and north, into the body of the mosque.

The length of the Mihrab (or chancel, where the Imam looking towards Mecca, repeats the prayers) is eight cubits and a half from the Kibla to the Jauf; its breadth, from east to west, is seven cubits and a half; and, the height of the tabernacle is thirteen cubits and a half. On the side of this was the pulpit, equalled by none other in the world for workmanship and materials. It was formed of the most precious woods, such as ebony, sandal, Bresil, citron wood, wood of aloes, &c. The making of this, which was constructed by the Khalif Alhakam, lasted seven years: eight artists were employed on it, to each of which was paid half a Muhammady mithcāl a day: the cost of it is said to have amounted to thirty-five thousand, seven hundred and five dinars, three dirhems and one third: † and the steps, by which it was ascended, were nine in number.

The door of the Maksūra was of gold, as was the wall of the Mihrāb; and the parts adjacent were adorned with the same precious metal:

* In some cases, however, four columns were united under one capital; and the marble above and below was adorned with gold and lapis lazuli. There were, also, three red columns; on one of which was written the name of Muhammad; on another was the likeness of Moses's staff, and the sleepers of the cave; and, on the third, was the figure of Noah's crow!

† In another place it is said to have cost ten thousand and fifty mithcāls.

but, the floor of the Maksūra was of pure silver. In the part of this mosque, too, appropriated to the pulpit, was deposited a copy of the Corān, written, as it is generally supposed, by the Khalif, Othmān; who is said to have presented a transcript to each of the four cities, Mecca, Basra, Kūfa, and Damascus; and this must have been one of them, if it was in fact written as above described. It is, however, most probable, that Othmān never made any copy of the Corān: but, be that as it may, the manuscript, here alluded to, was preserved in a case of gold set with pearls and rubies, over which was a bag of gold tissue; and, this was placed on a throne made of wood of aloes, with nails of gold: and, as it was greatly prized by Mahometans in general, the Sultan Abū-l Hasan took it away, on Friday the eleventh of Shavwāl, in the year five hundred and fifty-two, and conveyed it to Africa. From that country it was brought back to the peninsula by the Portuguese, who obtained possession of it in an invasion of Africa; but, being ignorant of its value, they guarded it so ill, that some one found an opportunity to seize and restore it to the Africans.

The height of the tower, now existing, which was built by the Khalif, Annāsir, is seventy-two cubits to the top of the open dome, towards which the crier turned his back, when proclaiming the hour of prayers. On the summit of this dome are three celebrated apples; two of which are of pure gold, and the middle one of silver. The tower is covered with copper, and these ornaments on its top are grouped with a six-fold lily* of gold, in a most elegant manner. Each of these apples is three spans and a half in circumference; and the small peach of gold, which rises a cubit above the top of the dome, is one of the wonders of the earth. This tower is not so lofty as that at Seville, or that at Marocco; the latter being one hundred and ten cubits in height. In the tower, now existing, there are two stair-cases; each separated by masonry from the other; but the old one which Annāsir demolished in the year 340,† had only one passage for ascent and descent. The foundation is a square of eighteen cubits by eighteen: the height to

* Or, perhaps, a six-petalled lily: but it is said in another part, that above and below each apple was a lily, contrived in an extraordinary fashion.

† A. D. 951 or 952.

the station, whence the hours of prayer were proclaimed, is fifty-four cubits: and, the erection of this part of the edifice was completed in thirteen months.

The reason of the great addition made by Almansūr was the actual want of room for the people of Cordova: for, when the tribes of Barbarians had been drawn to it from Africa, and, the allurements of the place were known in the extremes of Gallicia, its suburbs and every other part teemed with inhabitants; and the great mosque became incapable of receiving the congregation which flocked to it. As the Khalif's palace adjoined to the mosque on the west side, Almansūr could not extend the edifice, except to the east: great, however, as his undertaking was, which surpassed even what Alhakam had performed, it was executed in the most substantial and complete manner. Almansūr, also, made the great well in the court: and, in the opinion of the Arabian historian, it was he who first caused wax to be burned in the mosque, in addition to oil; so that the effect of both lights was produced at the same time.

The number of chandeliers, of different sizes, in the mosque, besides those over the gates, was two hundred and eighty; and the number of cups that contained the oil of the lamps, seven thousand four hundred and twenty-five, or, according to other accounts, ten thousand eight hundred and five. Of cotton for the wicks of the lamps, three fourths of a Kintār* was necessary for each month: and, the oil expended annually, amounted to one hundred and twenty-five kintārs; about half of which was used in the month of Ramazān: and, for this month, three kintārs of wax, with three quarters of a kintār of cotton thread used in preparing the wax, were requisite, over and above the ordinary allowance. The great wax taper, that burned by the side of the Imām, was from fifty to sixty pounds in weight: and, such a portion of it was consumed each night, that the whole might be finished on the last night of Ramazān. The chandeliers were all of brass, and of various patterns, except three, which were of silver: and, four greater than the rest were suspended in the centre aisle, of which the largest hung in the great Kibla, where the scriptures were placed; but, these great chandeliers,

* The same as the Spanish quintal; or, about one hundred and twenty pounds weight.

each of which consumed nightly seven quarters* of a kintār of oil, were only illuminated on the ten last nights of the month Ramazān: and, according to Ibn Bashkuval, whose account is perhaps better deserving of credit than the one before given, the annual expenditure of oil was two hundred and twenty-five kintārs, of which three fourths were expended in the month of Ramazān. Another author, however, fixes the annual consumption of oil at one thousand and thirty quarters of a kintār; and he allows five hundred quarters for the month of Ramazān: he, also, mentions, that the three silver chandeliers required seventy-two pounds weight of oil each night.

The speculum, or reflector, is said to have been composed of thirty-six thousand pieces; and, each piece to have consisted of seven dirhems of silver: it was, moreover, adorned with nails of gold and silver; and, in some parts, with precious stones. The effect of this was nine-fold. The circumference of the greatest chandelier was fifty spans: and, it held one thousand and eighty four cups (for oil), each of which was gilt.

Over the extremity of the Mihrāb were placed on columns seven bows,† of more than an ell in length each; the beautiful position of which astonished all Europeans as well as Moslems: and, at the two door-posts of the Mihrab were four pillars, which exceeded all estimation in value; two of them being of green marble, and two of lapis lazuli.

Ibn Bashkuval relates, that Alhakam demolished the old reservoir for purification in the court of the mosque; to which the water was conveyed by beasts of burthen: and, in its place, substituted in the court four great cisterns; which he caused to be hewn out of the solid rock at the foot of the mountain of Cordova; and, to be each drawn, on a machine constructed for the purpose, by seventy of the strongest

* A measure, or weight, similar to the Arroba of the Spaniards; this word being, in fact, the same as the Arabic, and meaning "the fourth" of a kintar, or weight of about one hundred and twenty pounds English.

† The word here translated bows, is, like the Latin word arcus, ambiguous; and, the meaning may be seven arches, of more than an ell in length each, &c.

draught oxen, after a road had been levelled and prepared. These cisterns, or reservoirs, were of marble: a large one for the men, and a smaller one for the women, were fixed on both the east and west sides of the court: and they were replenished by means of pipes laid to the foot of the mountain of Cordova. By the same conduit, moreover, excellent water was brought to three marble receptacles, fixed at the doors on the east, west, and north sides of the mosque, for the public accommodation.

The number of people employed in the mosque, such as priests, readers, wardens, door-keepers, proclaimers of the times of prayer, lighters of the lamps, and the like, was, in the time of Almansūr, one hundred and fifty-nine: but, Ibn Bashkuval, whose account best deserves credit, says, that the attendants amounted to three hundred in the times of the Khalifs, and of Almansūr. On the last night of the month Ramazān, four ounces of light coloured amber, and eight ounces of wood of aloes, were burnt by way of incense: but, some historians say, that one pound of wood of aloes, and a quarter of a pound of amber, were allotted to the mosque, every Friday, for this purpose.

The Arabs of Spain imitated the conduct of Ubaidatu-bnu-l Jarrāh and Khālidu-bnu-l Walīd, when these subdued Syria, in dividing the churches with the Christians, agreeable to the advice of Omar. According to this maxim, the Moslems and the Barbarians parted between them the principal church of Cordova, called St. Vincent's: and, on this, their portion, the Moslems built a great mosque, whilst the other part remained in the hands of the Christians, and all the churches in Cordova sunk to decay. With what they possessed, however, the Moslems remained satisfied: and, as the population of Cordova, where the chiefs of the Arabs took up their abode, continued to encrease, aisles were at different times subjoined to this mosque; the roof of each successive one being inferior to the preceding, till that of the last aisle was, in fact, so low, that the people could not stand up with ease under it. In this state, the temple continued during the government of the Emirs: but, when Abdurrahmān, son of Muāvia, had gained possession of the kingdom, and fixed himself at Cordova, he examined into the state of

the mosque ; and, wishing to enlarge it, he sought to purchase of the Christians their share of the church, which was adjoining to the mosque, but they refused to sell. After much solicitation, however, they at length assented ; on condition of being allowed to repair the churches, gone to decay, on the outside of the city ; and, of holding them exclusively of the Moslems : this point being settled, Abdurrahmān laid the foundation of the present great mosque of Cordova.

Hishām, son of Abdurrahmān, enlarged and completed what his father had founded.

Abdurrahmān Alausat, son of Hishām, enlarged the mosque : and, Muhammad, son of the latter, finished what was incomplete at the death of his father.

Almundhir repaired the mosque, and Annāsir renewed some parts, besides taking down the old tower, and building the present one.

But, Alhakam, son of Annāsir, made the greatest additions,* on account of the encrease of the population of Cordova : and, last of all, the Hājib Almansūr erected the eight additional aisles on the east side, as before described.

On the west side of this mosque, Alhakam built a house for the distribution of alms : and, over against the great western gate, he erected houses for the reception of the poor.

With respect to the other public, as well as private buildings of Cordova, it is recorded, that in the days of Abdurrahmān Addākhil, the first sovereign of the house of Ummayya in Spain, the number of mosques in that city was four hundred and ninety ; but, it became much greater afterwards. Some have asserted, that the number of towers, from which the people were summoned to prayers, was four thousand three hundred. In the great castle, there were upwards of four hundred and thirty houses : and, during the sovereignty of the Matūna and Muhadite dynasties, the number of houses inhabited by the common people within the walls, and exclusive of those occupied by

* The expense of the additions he made, amounted to two hundred and sixty one thousand five hundred and thirty-seven dinars, two dirhems and a half.

the nobles and officers of state, amounted to one hundred and thirteen thousand : at that period, too, there were six thousand three hundred houses belonging to the people of the government. The number of the suburbs was twenty-eight ; or, as others say, twenty-one : that of the mosques, three thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven : that of public baths, seven hundred ; or according to others, three hundred. Ibn Haiyān, however, states the number of mosques, in the time of Almansūr, when Cordova was at its highest pitch of greatness, to have been sixteen hundred ; and, that of baths, nine hundred.* Still, according to an ancient chronicle, there were three thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven mosques ; nine hundred and eleven baths ; one hundred and thirteen thousand houses for the common people ; and, perhaps, half that number for the nobles, and such as were in the employment of government.

It is, however, asserted by one of the learned, that in the reign of Almansūr, the houses of Cordova, and of the suburbs, were numbered, and found to amount to two hundred and twelve thousand, or two hundred and thirteen thousand and seventy-seven, inhabited by the common people, and sixty thousand three hundred occupied by the nobles, ministers, secretaries, military people, and other dependants of the state ; besides hotels, baths, and taverns. The number of shops at this time was eighty thousand four hundred and fifty-five. In the civil war which took place about the beginning of the fourth century of the Hijra, not only was a great part of these buildings demolished, but also the traces of some of the quarters were razed to the ground.†

* Of these baths, one only survives the wreck of time, or the desolations of the Spaniards.

† In the preceding accounts, which are extracted from various authors, the reader will doubtless have observed considerable disagreements in various particulars. These differences, however, must be attributed either to the changes in the state of things at the various periods when the authors wrote, as in the numbers of mosques and houses, or to the diversity of measures adopted by them. For instance, in enumerating the columns in the grand mosque at Cordova, the small pillars appear to be omitted in the computations of some writers ; while others have indiscriminately, reckoned all the columns, of whatever size they might have originally been.

SUCH was Cordova in her ancient state of splendor, of which numerous valuable remains are still in existence, particularly the mosque and bridge, monuments of the munificence and piety of the western Khalifs. But the honours of this city are not confined to the grandeur of her public edifices :* for Cordova has, from remote ages, been celebrated as the abode of learning, as well as the seat of the fine arts.

While under the dominion of the Romans, Cordova possessed a celebrated university, in which rhetoric and philosophy were particularly studied : and it also had a Greek professorship. The elder Seneca, and Lucius Annæus Seneca, preceptor to Nero, were natives of this city, as likewise were the poets, Lucan, and Sextilius Henna of whose writings one elegy only is extant. Here also studied the orators, Acilius Lucanus, the father of the poet, Gallio, and Porcius Ladro of whose works there remains a single harangue ; besides other eminent persons. That the literary celebrity of Cordova did not decline under the Moorish government, the following pages will abundantly evince :† it will be sufficient, therefore, here to state, that the learned Casiri has recorded‡ the names and writings of nearly one hundred and seventy eminent men—natives of that city, in order to prove, that the Arabians had preserved to its university the reputation it had acquired during the time of the Romans.

* The ancient palace of the Moorish Sovereigns has been converted into stables, in which a hundred Andalusian horses are usually kept, whose genealogy is carefully preserved. Peyron's *Essais sur l'Espagne*, in M. Bourgoing's "Modern State of Spain," vol. iv. pp. 224, 225. To which we are indebted for the Account of Cordova, previously to the time of the Moors.

† See Part II. Chapter I. Sections I. and II.

‡ In his "*Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis*," 2 vols. folio, Madrid, 1760, 1770. In this elaborate catalogue of Arabic MSS. chiefly composed by the Spanish Arabs, and which are now preserved in the royal library at the Escorial, Casiri has interspersed numerous historical notices of many of the authors, some of whose works he has epitomised or translated ; and has further enriched them with many valuable philological remarks and disquisitions.

Among the distinguished characters of more modern times, who were natives of Cordova, the most celebrated is Gonzalvo de Cordova, better known by the appellation of the Great Captain ; who signalized himself by his military achievements against the Moors.

Far different from its ancient prosperity is Cordova, in its present state. Under the administration of Almansūr, we have seen, that the number of houses in this city amounted to two hundred and sixty-two thousand three hundred, of various classes ; which, at the rate of only three persons to each house, gives a population of nearly seven hundred thousand persons. Some modern writers estimate the number of inhabitants in Cordova, under the Khalifs, at one million ;* who had decreased to sixty thousand in the 16th century, and at present do not exceed thirty-five thousand. The entire population of the kingdom of Cordova, according to the census made in 1803, was only three hundred and eighty-three thousand two hundred and twenty-six persons.

The vicinity of the city of Cordova is the most productive in grain and olive trees in the whole district : a few manufactories of ribbons, galloons, hats, and baize, however, are all that remain of its once celebrated fabrics ; which, while they furnished employment to its numerous population, greatly promoted the wealth and prosperity of the kingdom.

* Manuel Géographique et Statistique de l'Espagne, &c. p. 160. (8vo. Paris, 1810).

SECTION II.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE KINGDOM AND CITY OF GRANADA.

The Kingdom of Granada—Its extent—Ancient History of the City of Granada—Its Name—Situation—Surrounding Country—Public Edifices—The Alhamrā—By whom founded and augmented—Observations on its Arrangement and Architecture—Royal Villa of Al Generalife—Population—Public Library, and University of Granada.

THE kingdom of Granada, which formed part of the Roman province of Bætica in ancient Spain was founded by Muhammad I. surnamed Ibnū-l-Ahmar, and, under his successors acquired great celebrity. It comprised those parts of Spain which lie in the south-eastern corner of the peninsula; and, in its most flourishing period never exceeded seventy leagues in length from east to west, and twenty-five in breadth from north to south. This kingdom is stated by its historian, Ibnū-l Katīb, better known by the name of Alkhatīb, to have contained thirty-three regions or districts, which he briefly enumerates and describes;* together with their principal cities: but, as it is by no means easy to ascertain the Arabian names of these places, our attention will necessarily be confined to the cities of Granada and Seville.

The ancient history of Granada, previously to the time of the Moors, is involved in impenetrable obscurity. The Granadine antiquaries, indeed, insist that this city was a colony of the Phœnicians, known to the Romans by the name of Illiberia:† but the earliest authentic notice

* Ibnū-l Khatīb, in Casiri's Bibliotheca Arabico-Escorialensis, t. ii. pp. 246—260.

† Razes, as cited by Pedraza, states this city to have been founded by the Hebrews, and that it was called the Jews city: and, according to the Spanish antiquarian, the most ancient towers

which we have of its existence, does not carry its origin higher than the time of the Spanish Arabs, by whom it appears to have been founded in the third century of the Hijra, or the tenth century of the Christian era, at which time it formed part of the Khilāfat of Cordova. In the year of the Hijra 634 (A. D. 1236) it became the metropolis of the kingdom of Granada, then recently established, and the splendid monuments of Arabian architecture which still remain, exhibit permanent memorials of the taste and splendour of its Mahometan sovereigns.

Granada, says Ibnu-l Khatīb, by foreigners* called Garanata, or the city of strangers, by the Arabs the Damascus of Spain, formerly belonged to the celebrated city of Albira, whence it was distant about four miles. By the mild temperature of its climate, and the other qualities of its soil, it certainly is not unlike to Damascus: and its distance from Cordova, the first and ancient residence of the western Khalifs, is about ninety miles south-east. Granada is further described as “the
“ metropolis of the most maritime towns—the proud head of the whole
“ kingdom—the noble emporium of merchants—the most beneficent
“ parent of sailors—the resort and receptacle of strangers from every part
“ of the earth—the perpetual garden of fruits rapidly succeeding each
“ other—the most grateful abode of men—the public treasury—the city
“ most famous for its fields and fortifications—an immense sea of grain
“ and of most excellent leguminous plants, and a fertile mine of silk and

and walls are of Phœnician workmanship. Pedraza, however, it must be observed, was not very careful in the authorities he consulted. See his *Antigüedad de Granada*, p. 32. Much learned trifling has been bestowed by antiquarians, in conjectures on the probable derivation of the name of this city. The most favourite and generally received opinion (which perhaps is as well founded as any other) is, that it is so called from the resemblance which its position bears to a ripe pomegranate (*Granatum*); the two hills on which the city stands representing the bursting skin, and the houses, which are crowded into the intermediate valley, the pips. In conformity with this notion, the arms of Granada are, a crowned pomegranate, half open, shewing the coloured seeds, in a field argent; and they are affixed to every gate or ornamented post in the streets and public walls. Pedraza, *ut supra*. Swinburne's *Travels in Spain*, vol. i. 218. According to Pedraza (p. 2.) Granada is situated in latitude 37°, 50'; but Francisco Dalmau, who published a map of the kingdom in 1796, makes its latitude to be 37°, 22'.

* By foreigners he means Hebrews, or Phœnicians. Casiri, tom. ii. p. 247.

“sugar.” That these lofty titles were not misapplied or exaggerated by the partial affection of a native writer, will readily appear from the following description of its situation, and of the noble edifices by which it was adorned.

“At a short distance from the city rises a mountain, called the Sierra (Nevada), celebrated for the whiteness of its snows, and the excellence of its waters. To this must be added the salubrity of the air, numerous most delightful gardens, together with a great variety of plants, and the choicest aromatics. Among its rare gifts, this is pre-eminent, that corn fields, meadows, and pastures, may be seen in any season of the year. Its territory abounds with gold, silver, lead, iron, tutty, marcasites, and sapphire stones: among the plants growing on its mountains, and also in the marshes, are to be found the sulphur-wort, gentian, and spikenard. Here, also, is obtained the kermes,* with which a scarlet dye is imparted to silk; and of this article a sufficient quantity is raised both for domestic consumption, and also for the purposes of commerce. The silken stuffs, manufactured from it, are deservedly reputed to be far superior to those of Assyria, in beauty, softness, and fineness of texture.”

“The surrounding country is most delightful, rivalling indeed the beautiful fields of Damascus, and equally convenient for riding or walking, by day or by night. It naturally spreads into a plain,† that is

* The *Coccus Ilicis* of Naturalists: this insect was anciently supposed to be a berry.

† This plain is now called the Vega de Granada; and, though not cultivated to the same extent, and with the same ability which the Spanish Arabs bestowed upon it, it is still one of the most delightful spots the traveller can behold. Meadows, corn fields, rivers, forests, and woods, interspersed with villas, and bounded by mountains, whose summits are covered with perpetual snows, while their declivities are covered with vineyards, olive, orange, citron, and mulberry trees, are here to be seen in rich abundance; and all together present a rare spectacle of luxuriance and beauty. Few places, indeed, offer a more striking assemblage of objects, deserving the attention of the antiquarian, the naturalist, and the artist. “Vestiges of Punic, Roman, and Arabian works. Mountains pregnant with minerals and marbles. Grand romantic scenes, which may invite the pencil of a Poussin or a Claude. The fruitful vale, or paradise, as it has been often called, fronting the city, is one of the finest pictures in nature; it is computed at one hundred miles in circuit. This ample space is decked in perennial verdure, the emblem of immortality.

watered by brooks and rivers ; and in every direction there appear villages and gardens, which are adorned by beautiful buildings, trees, and plants ; while the circumjacent hills and mountains, for the space of forty miles, encompass the plain nearly in the form of a semi-circle. At the extremity of this plain stands the noble city of Granada ; which, with its elevated suburbs resting on five hills, rises partly on delightful acclivities, and partly extends itself into the plain, covered with buildings occupied by a numerous population as far as the place called Cor-Alnahl. Language, indeed, can with difficulty describe how happy, how charming it is rendered by the softness of the air, the mildness of the climate, the bridges over the river, the splendour of the temples, and the convenience of its market-places. The city is divided by the river Darro ; which flows from the east, and, forming a junction with the Singilis, waters the whole plain ; and which, like the Nile, after being augmented by numerous tributary rivulets and brooks, swells into a broad stream, and flows on to Seville (Hispalis)."

In Granada, there was a garden attached to every house, and planted with orange, lemon, citron, laurel, myrtle, and other odoriferous trees and plants ; whose fragrance purified the air, and promoted the health of the inhabitants. All the houses were supplied with running water ; and in every street, through the munificence of successive sovereigns, there were copious fountains, for the public convenience, and for the performance of religious ablutions : whatever, in short, could tend to promote the convenience and comfort of life, was here to be found in the richest profusion. The houses in the Albaycin (the highest quarter of the city) which in the time of the Moors were ten thousand in

For though the adjacent promontory is incessantly crowned with snow, the inclemency of the seasons is unknown in the valley. Spring and autumn assume the place of winter, and the heat of summer is tempered by the vicinity of the mountains, and the crystal waters which nourish the trees and plants whose images they reflect. But the principal sources of fertilization are the numerous streams descending from the surrounding heights, which rapidly enter the vale, yet they slacken their speed as they advance and vary their course, and in playful windings slowly glide along the level lawn, as if unwilling to leave such delightful groves." (MS. note communicated by Mr. Murphy, author of the "Arabian Antiquities of Spain.")

number, were particularly elegant; being beautifully ornamented with damasquina work.* The surplus of the abundant crops of corn, produced by the exuberant fertility of the soil, was deposited in numberless granaries, excavated in the sides of the mountains; and the caves thus formed, in our days furnish a wretched abode to gypsies, who abound in this part of the peninsula. Granada had formerly twenty gates. A few of these only are now entire, but the ruins of most of the rest are still in existence.

“Enjoying a still more delightful prospect, on the opposite side, there rises as it were another city, called Alhamrā,† containing the royal residence. Here are seen, lofty towers, very strongly fortified citadels, superb palaces, and other splendid edifices, the view of which fills the spectator’s mind with admiration. Here a vast mass of water, whose loud murmuring noise is heard at a distance, flows from various springs, and irrigates both the fields and meadows. The outer walls of the city of Granada are surrounded by most choice and spacious gardens, where the trees are so thickly set, as to resemble hedges; yet not so as to obstruct the view of the beautiful towers of the Alhamrā, which sparkle like stars, among the leaves. No spot, in short, is without its orchards, vineyards, and gardens: and so abundant is the produce of fruits and vegetables, reared on the widely-extended plain, that the wealth alone of the first princes can equal their annual value.” The clear income from each garden was computed at five hundred golden crowns (aurei), out of which it paid thirty minæ to the King. Further,

* Pedraza, *Antigüedad de Granada*, pp. 20, 21. The Damasquina work abovementioned, was a peculiar kind of stucco ornament, originally invented at Damascus, whence its name is derived.

† Or Medinat Alhamrā, (usually but erroneously written Alhambra) that is, the Red City, for which appellation various reasons have been assigned. According to some Arabian authors, it was thus termed from the colour of the materials with which it was built: others think it a corruption of Alhamar, the Arabian tribe from which its founder, Mahomet Algaleb Billāh, was descended. Ibnū-l Khatīb, however, derives its name from the circumstance of the workmen having wrought at it by night, by the light of candles. (Ibnū-l Khatīb, *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana*, apud Casiri, t. ii. p. 114, col. 2.) By the modern Spaniards, this superb edifice is designated la Sierra del Sol, or mountain of the sun; because, by its elevation on a high mountain, it is exposed to the rising sun.

around these gardens lay fields of various culture, clothed with perpetual verdure, and yielding some kind of produce or other at every season of the year. Thus a constant succession of crops was obtained, and an annual rent was produced, amounting to twenty-five thousand golden crowns,—equivalent, perhaps, to about £ 15,000. sterling,—an immense sum of money at that time, when wheat was sold at the rate of about sixpence per bushel.

“ Here, also, may the spectator behold the royal demesnes, which are rendered wonderfully pleasant by rows of trees, and by a variety of plants,—lofty towers rising with a charming aspect,—a spaciouly-extended plain, and waters constantly flowing, for the use of the baths, and for turning mills; the revenue thence derived is appropriated to supporting the fortifications of the city. The royal farms cover the space of about twenty miles, and are cultivated and adorned by numerous able-bodied husbandmen, and choice animals. In most of them are castles, mills, and mosques: and to these ornaments of the farms must be added,—what is of the utmost importance in rural economy,—the exuberant fertility of the soil. Many towns, distinguished for their population and their produce, lie scattered around the royal estates; some of these are laid down to pasture, while others are appropriated to tillage. To these succeed villages, hamlets, and other very populous places, amounting in all to upwards of three hundred. The number of colleges and places of worship, is fifty; and without the city walls more than one hundred and thirty water-mills are computed to be at work.”

The chief ornament of Granada, during the empire of the Spanish Arabs, as well as in the present day, is unquestionably, the royal Alcazar,† or fortress and palace of Alhamrā, which was founded by

* Ibnū-l Khatīb, apud Casiri, t. ii. p. 250, 251.

† This is corrupted from the Arabic word Al Cayṣar, which signifies of Cæsar, and has been retained by the Arabs since the days of Julius Cæsar; who conferred upon one of their tribes the exclusive privilege of rearing and trading in silk. Hence, they called the public building where it was sold, by the name of Cayzar, or the house of Cæsar. Afterwards, when the victorious Moslems carried their arms into Spain, they introduced the culture of silk, together with their

Muhammad Abū Abdillāh Ben Nasr, surnamed Alghāleb Billāh, the second sovereign of Granada ; who defrayed the expense of its erection by a tribute imposed on his conquered subjects. He superintended the building in person ; and, when it was completed, he made it the royal residence. The same fortunate monarch also fortified the mountain on which it is situated ; and, during the whole of his reign, appropriated an ample portion of his treasures towards improving and perfecting it.*

The successors of Abū Abdillāh took great delight in embellishing, or in making additions to the Alhamrā, particularly his son Muhammad II., and his grandson Muhammad III. ; the latter erected and richly endowed a mosque, of beautiful architecture, which was splendidly decorated with mosaics, its roof being supported by large pillars curiously wrought, the capitals and bases of which were of silver. The Arabian historian calls this edifice a rare and admirable work, every way worthy of that incomparable prince.† But the sovereign who put the finishing hand to this palace was Yūsuf Ben Ismael Ben Pharagi, surnamed Abū-l Hajjāj, an accomplished poet and scholar, as well as a lover of the fine arts, who reigned from the year of the Hijra 732 to 755, A. D. 1331 to 1354. His last work in the Alhamrā was the square tower, forming the present principal entrance into the fortress, and which the inscription over it states to have been erected A. H. 749, or A. D. 1348.

General Observations on the Arrangement of the Alhamrā.

LIKE Windsor castle, the palace of the Alhamrā is situated upon the northern brow of a steep hill, commanding an extensive prospect over a beautiful country, and towering with venerable aspect above the city

appellation of the building where it was sold, though in progress of time, other articles besides silk were there exposed to sale. Pedraza, Antiguiedad de Granada, p. 20.

* Casiri, t. ii. p. 260, col. 2. For views of the Alhamrā, and its various superb apartments and decorations, see Mr. Murphy's "Arabian Antiquities of Spain," Plates X. and following ; in which they are faithfully delineated, and admirably engraved.

† Casiri, p. 272, col. 2.

of Granada. The sides towards the citadel are so delapidated or encumbered with modern buildings, that very few traces are visible of the ancient external walls. But the interior remains of the palace are in tolerable preservation, and present a striking picture of the romantic magnificence of its former kings. How strange does every object in this edifice appear! how different from all that we are accustomed to behold! Yet even in its present deserted state, we recognize in the architecture, the condition of the owner, the seat of power, and the gravity of the Arabian character. But the splendour of the turban'd monarch has vanished, and the throne of the son of Nasr is filled by bats and owls.

Simple and natural is the general distribution. The courts, for instance, which in our mansions are usually dull and uninteresting, are here so planned, as to seem a continuation of the series of apartments; and, the whole being upon the same level plane throughout, in its primitive state the prospect must have been enchanting: halls and galleries, porticos and columns, arches, mosaics, and balsamic plants and flowers of various hues, were seen through the haze of spraying fountains. Although the Arabs were unacquainted with perspective, yet their architectural scenery is truly picturesque, and well calculated to make a small building appear larger than it really is. Instead of the costly works of classic art, they adorned the courts and haram with the simple productions of nature, and blessed the God of Mahomet for having given them original pictures instead of copies. In every part of the palace they had water in abundance, and a perfect controul over it; making it high or low, visible or invisible, at pleasure—sometimes spouting in the air, dispersing the floating miasmata, and tempering the aridity of the atmosphere. At other times they spread out in the midst of a court a large oblong sheet, in which were seen buildings, fountains, figures, and a serene azure sky. The verge was bordered by white marble flags, having a long narrow bed of roses ranged on either side: a perennial stream stole in at one end of the sheet, and out at the other; leaving the surface, on a plane with the floors, smooth and even as the

glass floor of the hall of audience, in which Solomon received the queen of Sheba.

In every apartment, two currents of air were constantly in motion, apertures being formed near the ceiling to discharge the warm and unwholesome air, which the pure inferior current forced upwards. By means of tubes or caleducts of baked earth, placed in the walls, a subterraneous hypocaust diffused warmth not only through the whole range of the baths, but to all the contiguous upper apartments, where warmth was required. The doors are generally very large, and sparingly introduced. Except in the side of the edifice towards the precipice, where the prospect is very grand, the windows are so placed as to confine the view to the interior of the palace. The purport of an inscription in one of the apartments, is to this effect. "My windows admit the light and "exclude the view of external objects, lest the beauties of nature should "divert your attention from the beauties of my work."

The arabesques, paintings, and mosaics, which are finished with great care and accuracy, give a consequence and interest even to the smallest apartment. Instead of being papered or wainscoted, the walls are covered with arabesques, which had been cast in moulds in a peculiar manner, and afterwards joined together, although no separation appears.* The receding ornaments are illuminated in just gradations with leaf gold, pink, light blue, and dusky purple: the first colour is the nearest, the last the most distant from the eye, but the general surface is white. A multitude of sculptures of unequal projection, creates confusion; an error that is avoided in this place, where the ornaments are produced by incision, and their boundless number excites an artificial infinity. Externally, where projections are necessary, the line of continuity is uniformly observed in every distinct series of parts. The domes and arcades are also formed of ornamented casts, which are almost as light as wood, and as durable as marble: specimens of the composition of which they are formed, may be seen in the early works of the Arabs, unimpaired after a lapse of ten centuries. They appear

* See delineations of these arabesques and mosaics, in the Arabian Antiquities of Spain, Plates XLIX. to LXV. and LXXVIII.

to have been well acquainted with the properties of the carbonate of selenite.

The lower part of the walls, to the height of about four feet, is covered with porcelain mosaics of various figures and colours: and it appears from a few remaining fragments, that the floors and columns of some of the apartments were also covered with similar mosaics. The Arabs took great pleasure in these decorations, a luxury unknown to their Gothic contemporaries, who skirted their halls with mats, and covered the floors with bulrushes.

Since the conquest of Granada by Ferdinand and Isabella, in the year 1492, the Alhamrā has undergone various alterations. Induced by the beauty of its situation, and the purity of the air, the Emperor Charles V. caused a magnificent palace to be commenced on the ruins of the offices of the old Moorish palace, probably with the view of making it his constant residence. But, in consequence of the continual wars in which he was engaged, together with his frequent absences from Spain, a suite of apartments handsomely decorated in the Spanish style, is all that was constructed: and these, like the rest of the Alhamrā, are falling rapidly to decay, through neglect. At present, the walls are defaced; the paintings faded; the wood-work is decayed, and festoons of cobwebs are seen hanging from the cielings. In the works of the Arabs, on the contrary, the walls remain unaltered, except by the injuries inflicted by the hand of man. The colours of the paintings, in which there is no mixture of oil, on removing the particles of dust, appear to have preserved their brightness. The beams and wood-work of the cielings present no signs of decay; and spiders, flies, and all other insects, shun their apartments at every season. The art of rendering timber and paints durable, and of making porcelain, mosaics, arabesques, and other ornaments,—began and ended in western Europe with the Spanish Arabs.

A most curious and interesting part of this edifice is the baths, which are almost entire, and may give a competent idea of their manner of constructing, lighting, and warming these luxurious apartments.*

* See Arabian Antiquities of Spain, Plates XX. to XXVII.

Pedraza, the Granadine antiquary, observes, that "no monarch, whether Christian or infidel, ever possessed a more magnificent apartment than that called the Hall of Ambassadors." He might with truth assert, that it is a noble hall, and "arched so high, that giants may keep their turbans on." But the Sala de dos Hermanas, or Hall of the Two Sisters, though not so large, displays more ingenuity of construction; the domes in particular are the most curious productions of architecture, without exception, that have ever been seen, and they are in excellent preservation. Notwithstanding the apparent slightness of the construction of this edifice, the resistance is so well adjusted to the impulse, that there is not an instance of any part being pushed out of its place, or of having sunk under the incumbent weight.

"The character of the whole," says a recent judicious observer, "is so remote from all the objects to which we are accustomed, that the impression of wonder and delight which it has excited, will afford me the most pleasing recollection during the remainder of my life." The pleasure, doubtless, would be greatly enhanced, by reading and understanding, with the enraptured fancy of an Arab, the poetry displayed in the friezes, architraves and bands, in Cūfic and Asiatic characters, richly illuminated.*

A consideration of the various remains, and of the recorded magnificence of the Arabian sovereigns, may enable us to judge what this palace had been in the zenith of regal power, with the courts and halls, baths and fountains, groves and gardens, in perfection. Its possessors were sumptuously robed in fine linens, silks, and embroidery, glittering with gold and gems; they had costly furniture of citron, sandal, and aloes wood, ornamented with ivory and mother of pearl, intermixed with burnished gold and cerulean blue,—vases of curious and costly workmanship, of porcelain, rock crystal, mosaic, and sardonyx,—rich hangings, flowery carpets, couches and pillows; and the whole was perfumed with the precious frankincense of Yamen.

* The various engravings in the "Arabian Antiquities of Spain," (See Plates LXXX. to LXXXVII.) will convey some idea of the beauty of the Cūfic characters, engraved on the walls of the Alhamrā. The poems, from which many of the inscriptions are extracted, are given at length, with an English translation, in the Appendix to this volume.

But such is the instability of human grandeur, that of all this Asiatic pomp, and of the former splendour of Granada, nothing now remains but ruined edifices, uncultivated fields, and the skeleton of a city where nothing prospers but monasteries, and monks, and lawyers, who survive the misery they have caused.

The Alhamrā is, at present, totally deserted, except on the days of admission to strangers. The want of repairs, the frequent lacerations, and the injuries occasioned by rain and the stagnant waters, are hastening its dissolution. Thus dismantled, solitary, and neglected, like a friendless stranger in a foreign land, without the immediate interposition of government, a few years more may level with the ground, the beautiful domes and arcades of the only remaining palace of the western Khalifs.

Of the other architectural remains of the Alhambra, the two principal gates of entrance are the most remarkable. The large cistern, contiguous to the palace, is a solid and durable structure, and the ingenious manner of filtering and keeping the water which is conveyed to it in the winter, pure, and at the same temperature throughout the year, may deserve to be imitated, especially in tropical climates. Several matamoras, or subterraneous granaries, still subsist in the eastern and highest part of the fortress. For the use of its inhabitants such a number of stores would not have been necessary; they seem sufficiently capacious to contain corn for the city of Granada at its most populous æra. An edifice, called Caza de Carbon (or house of charcoal), which appears to have been a market for the sale of charcoal, as the name imports, is still to be seen at Granada. In the neighbourhood of this are two ancient structures, the Generaliffe, and the Caza de San Domingo, both villas of the Arabs, and excellent specimens of their manner of building and laying out ground on a mountain side, and on a plain. The latter principally consists of an elegant portico of duplicated columns, and a lofty hall of singular workmanship: there also remain some vestiges of its ancient plantations, fountains, walks, and arbours: but the whole is utterly neglected by the present possessors, the Dominican monks, whose name it bears.

The royal villa of Al Generaliffe* is delightfully situated on the side of a steep mountain, opposite to the Alhamrā, and forming with it the circular inclosure within which the city of Granada is built. In point of situation, it is fully equal to the Alhamrā, but is greatly superior to it in the beauty of the streams that water the grounds, and also of vegetation, which jointly concur to make it a charming residence. The principal building stands on the acclivity of the mountain, behind which rises the garden, planted with large trees, and fertilised by numerous rivulets. The ancient cypress trees still exist, whose foliage overshadowed this spot, when it was the abode of pleasure and of luxury. These trees are still called the Queen's cypresses, from a traditional account that the Sultana of Abū Abdillāh, the last sovereign of Granada, had been seen, behind them, in wanton dalliance with an individual belonging to the noble family of the Abencerrages.†

The gardens are disposed in the form of an amphitheatre, and are irrigated by streams issuing from the summit of the mountain; which, after forming numerous cascades, lose themselves among the trees and flowering shrubs. Above the Generaliffe itself, and near the top of the eminence, there is a kind of stone bank, cut out of the rock, which is said to have served the Moorish kings as a point of observation, while the Spaniards were besieging Granada. The interior decorations of

* See delineation of it, in the "Arabian Antiquities of Spain," Plates XC. to XCVI.

† This charge, as well as that of conspiring against Abū Abdillāh, is said to have been falsely brought by one of the Zegrís, a noble family, hostile to the Abencerrages, with the view of effecting their ruin, of the latter of whom thirty-six were massacred by the jealous monarch. The Sultana was condemned to be burnt alive, if within thirty days she did not produce four knights to defend her cause against her four accusers. The fatal day arrived; no knights appeared—when, just at the critical moment, arrived Don Juan de Chacon, Lord of Carthagenā (whom she had implored to be her champion), accompanied by three other Christian knights, all in the dress of Turks. They fought, they conquered; and the last of the conspirators, with his dying breath, confessed his invention of the false charge against the Abencerrage, and the Sultana, who was of course liberated with honour. Mr. Swinburne has given a long and interesting detail, whence the preceding notice is abridged, relative to this supposed transaction: but, as the statements of his Spanish authors (Giles Peres and Medina Conde), are not to be received with implicit credence, the reader who is desirous of perusing the whole narrative, is referred to his "Travels in Spain," vol. i.

this villa, in point of splendour and elegance, are not inferior to those of the Alhamrā.

SUCH was Granada in all its prosperity—the seat of regal power, the abode of the arts, sciences, and literature: the city was captured by Ferdinand and Isabella, A. D. 1492, as already stated;* and to this day it is the subject of fond recollection to the Moors, who every Friday offer up their supplications to Allah, for the recovery of Granada, which they, not without the reason, esteem a terrestrial paradise.

The population of the kingdom of Granada, under the dominion of the Moors, is said to have amounted to three millions of inhabitants; at present it is reduced to six hundred and sixty-one thousand, six hundred and sixty-one. The population of the city has diminished in equal proportion: in 1492, it contained two hundred and fifty thousand persons, who, from the oppressions and expulsion of the Moors, were, in 1614, reduced to eighty thousand; and, according to a recent census, are at present estimated at only fifty thousand.†

Granada, however, is not only remarkable on account of its numerous remains of Arabian architecture; it has, also, a high claim to distinction as the seat of literature and of the elegant arts. The public library founded in this city, and augmented by the liberality of successive kings, was particularly celebrated; and many of the manuscripts which it contained, are at present to be found in the library of the Escorial. Casiri has given a catalogue (executed A. H. 611. A. D. 1214) of those which were accounted the most rare, in the time of the Moors.‡

pp. 242—252 (8vo. edit.) Mr. Peyron, in his “Essays on Spain,” has given a translation of an Arabian document, purporting to be an official report concerning the above transaction. See Bourgoing’s “Modern State of Spain,” vol. iv. pp. 167—169.

* See pp. 155—157. *supra*.

† Manuel Géographique et Statistique de l’Espagne, p. 160.

‡ Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, t. i. p. 465. Of this celebrated library, Mahomet Ben Ahmad Ben Pharag Ben Schocral Aba Abdallah was curator, in the beginning of the 8th century of the Hijra (the 14th century of the Christian Æra). He was a native of Tarsus, in Cilicia, but had studied at Almeria, in the kingdom of Granada, and was equally eminent in philosophy, medicine,

Nor was the university or college less distinguished: it is supposed to have been founded towards the close of the eleventh century (the sixth of the Hijra); about which time the most eminent doctors and authors flourished at Granada.* Casiri has recorded the names and works of one hundred and twenty literati—theologians—teachers of law—historians—philosophers—and other professors, whose literary talents conferred dignity and fame on the university of Granada.

and jurisprudence. He was first a bookseller in Granada, afterwards an embroider, and then a druggist. Being charged with stealing a diplomatic MS. belonging to the King, he was exiled to Hippo (usually called Bona) in Africa, where he died, A. H. 732. A.D. 1331. See Ibnū-l Khatib's Granatensis Encyclica, apud Casiri, t. ii. p. 80.

* Middeldorpf, de Institutis Literariis Arab. in Hispania, p. 24.

SECTION III.

A SHORT HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF SEVILLE.

Revolutions in the History of Seville—Captured by Ferdinand III. King of Castille—Population—Remains of Arabian Art there—The Alcazar—Giraldo—Fragment of Mosque—University.

PURSUING the course of the Guadalquivir, we arrive at Seville, the capital of Spain, until Philip II. established his court at Madrid, as a more central position. This city, the Hispalis of ancient Spain, is admirably situated for commerce, and, under the empire of the Arabs, held a distinguished place in the year of the Hijra, 418 (A. D. 1027), it became the seat of a petty kingdom, whose monarchs held the sceptre for about fifty years, when numerous different governors usurped the sovereignty for nearly forty years. In the year of the Hijra, 634, Seville became a republic, and enjoyed a free government until, after a desperate resistance, it was taken by Ferdinand, King of Castille, A. H. 646—A. D. 1248. At this time, Seville was one of the most considerable cities in Spain: while the beauty of its climate, and the fertility of the surrounding fields, rendered it a desirable residence. Its favourable situation, near the mouth of the river Guadalquivir, presented an opportunity for commerce to its enterprising inhabitants, which was not neglected.

The population of this city, in the year 1247, was computed at upwards of three hundred thousand persons; which, in the 16th century had decreased one third, and which at present is reduced to ninety-six

thousand souls.* Its productive industry has suffered a proportionate diminution : in the vicinity of Seville are the celebrated olive grounds, called the Axarafe, which in the time of the Moors were so industriously cultivated, that the number of farm houses and olive-presses, amounted to one hundred thousand, a larger number than is now to be found in the whole province of Andalusia. Rarely, indeed, do the present annual crops exceed, each, thirty-two thousand arrobas, or one hundred and ten thousand gallons of oil.

Among the scanty remains of Arabian monuments at Seville, the most considerable are the Alcazar, or royal palace, the Giraldo, and a fragment of the great mosque. The first, an imperfect imitation of the architecture of the Alhamrā, was erected after the expulsion of the Moors from the city. The mosque, as appears by the portion of the exterior walls still remaining, was similar in design and execution, and not much inferior in size, to the Mezquita of Cordova. It was founded by that distinguished sovereign, Yusūf Abū Yacub ;† and, on the surrender of Seville to the arms of Ferdinand, King of Castille, it was converted into a cathedral, after having undergone the usual purifications and ceremonials : and it might have still continued in that service, if the humility of the structure had not been incompatible with the opulence and dignity of the see. After a long forbearance, the clergy at length resolved to build a new cathedral, in a style suitable to their growing prosperity ; in pursuance, therefore, of an auto capitular of the 8th July, 1401, the foundation of the present Gothic pile was laid,—the largest sacred edifice in the peninsula, and almost completed, with the interior decorations, in the space of one hundred and seventy years. On comparing this edifice with the mosque at Cordova, it may be inferred, that neither space nor convenience has been obtained by this change, and the venerable ashes of St. Ferdinand might have rested as peaceably in the Mahometan fane, as in the solemn temple erected on its ruins.

* Manuel Géographique et Statistique de l'Espagne, p. 160.

† Ibnū-l-Khatīb, apud Casiri, t. ii. p. 220.

But the destroyers of the mosque fortunately spared its most striking feature, the lofty tower, corruptly called the Girada, erected A. D. 1196. It was originally consecrated to science, and was used as an astronomical observatory, but is now converted to the service of the church, and degraded to a belfry. Simple and ingenious is the construction of the Giraldo, the loftiest and most ancient monument, perhaps, in Christendom, in honour of astronomy. It was built under the superintendence of the celebrated Arabian astronomer and mathematician, Geber, who is by some writers reputed, though erroneously, to have been the inventor of Algebra.

Seville, like all the other great cities of the Spanish Arabs, was the seat of an university, founded probably towards the close of the fourth, or at the commencement of the fifth century of the Hijra, corresponding with the early part of the 12th century of the Christian Æra: and, upwards of seventy illustrious scholars are enumerated by Casiri, as professors or residents of this abode of science and the arts.†

† Middeldorpf, de Instit. Literariis Arab. in Hispan. pp. 34—38.

THE HISTORY
OF THE
MAHOMETAN EMPIRE IN SPAIN, &c.

PART II.

THE HISTORY

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PART II.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE LITERATURE AND SCIENCES OF THE ARABS.

SECTION I.

ON THE LITERATURE OF THE ARABS.

State of Literature in Ancient Arabia—Destruction of the Alexandrian Library—The Khalifs, Protectors of Letters—Al Mansūr, Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, Al-Māmūn—The Arabs in Spain—Their Libraries, Colleges, Academies, and Schools—Constitution and Studies of the Spanish-Arabian Colleges and Academies—Love and reverence for Learning—Language of the Arabians—Their Characters or Writing—Studies chiefly cultivated by them—Grammar—Eloquence—Examination of the Eloquence of the Koran—State of popular Eloquence among the Arabs—Eloquence of the Pulpit—Writers on Rhetoric—Poetry, a favourite Object of Study—Eminent Arabian Poets in Spain—Dramatic Poetry—Genius of Arabian Poetry examined—The Arabian Tales—History—Geography—Philosophy—The Writings of Aristotle why studied in preference to all others.

AT the period, when ignorance and barbarism prevailed through every part of the Roman empire, literature and philosophy found an asylum among the Arabians: and, by a singular revolution in the

history of nations, Europe became indebted to the mortal enemies of her religion and arms, for the first lessons of science and learning.

Originally, the peninsula of Arabia was one of the most barbarous countries of Asia. Its inhabitants, a rude nomadic race subsisting on rapine and plunder, from the nature of their pursuits, had necessarily but little leisure for the culture of polite literature or the pleasing arts: nor, until a short time before the age of Mahomet, were alphabetical characters known to the Arabs.* The whole of their literature consisted in a coarse and imperfect kind of poetry; and their knowledge was confined to genealogical notices and detached maxims of morality. The Arabs appear, from the earliest accounts, to have possessed great natural abilities, in which acuteness of penetration seems allied with extent of comprehension.† Not to repeat some well-known instances of their sagacity, it may be sufficient to adduce the poetical and rational answer of an inhabitant of the desert to the inquiry how he knew there was a God. “Exactly,” he replied, “in the same way that I know, “by the traces left in the sands, that a man or an animal has passed “before me. The heavens with the splendour of their stars—the earth “with its extended countries—and the sea with its countless waves— “what are they but obligations to believe and to confess the hand of “their Almighty Master?”

In reply to the question, what means he employed to give his memory its extraordinary power of retention, another Arab answered: “I resemble my native sands, which imbibe all the water that falls “upon them, and do not suffer a single drop to escape.”

But, whatever mental powers the Arabians possessed, they were, for a long time, destitute of a proper direction. The first age of Islamism was unpropitious to the interests of literature: the “Illiterate Prophet,” for so the Arabians themselves call the founder of their religion, by promulgating his Koran as a divine communication, effectually barred all access to the study of the sciences. The first Musalmāns, with a very few exceptions, were acquainted with no other book than the

* Pococke, Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 161.

† Introduction to the Literary History of the 14th and 15th Centuries, p. 71.

Koran : the extension of their religion by force of arms being considered as a sacred and meritorious duty, their attention was principally confined to military science.* Conceiving the Koran to contain every thing that was necessary or useful to be known, they immediately condemned as erroneous whatever was contrary to its dogmas : and, whatever was not to be found in this sacred volume, was dismissed as superfluous. Hence the other sciences were regarded with indifference or contempt ; and the conflagration of the celebrated Alexandrian Library, is a permanent memorial of the barbarous fanaticism of the Khalif Omar.†

The aversion, however, of the Moslems from literary pursuits, gradually relaxed, in proportion as their religion was disseminated, and their empire was extended, by conquest : and the Khalifs became the protectors of literature. Several of those, who contributed to the cultivation of letters by their munificence and example, have already been

* Andres, Dell' Origine, Progressi, e State attuale d' ogni Letteratura, tom. ii. p. 2. (Venice, 1783).

† The reader, who is desirous of perusing the history of this celebrated library, is referred to the first volume of "An Introduction to the Study of Bibliography," pp. vi—xi. It may suffice here to remark, that the Alexandrian Library had been founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and augmented by his successors : and that, after sustaining various revolutions through a period of nine hundred and thirty-two years, during which it was sometimes plundered and sometimes re-established, it was finally destroyed by the Saracens, under the orders of the Khalif Omar, when they acquired possession of Alexandria, A. D. 642. A very interesting narrative of this calamitous event, so fatal to the interests of literature, is given by Abū'lfaragius (Hist. Dynast. p. 114, vers. Pocock.), whose *positive* account Mr. Gibbon has endeavoured to disprove by *negative* arguments, Decline and Fall, vol. ix. p. 440. It should, however, be considered, that the positive evidence of an historian, of such unquestionable credit as Ab'ulfaragius is, cannot be set aside by an argument merely negative. His references to Aulus Gellius, Noct. Att. l. vi. c. 17, Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xxii. c. 15, and Orosius, l. vi. c. 15, are foreign from the purpose for which they are cited : for these writers only notice the accidental conflagration of the Alexandrian Library, in the time of Julius Cæsar ; after which it was renovated, and continued to flourish until its utter destruction by the Saracens ; Enfield's Hist. of Philosophy, vol. ii. 227, note. It may further be remarked, that the illustrious Arabic scholar, M. Sacy, has collected various testimonies from the works of Arabian writers preserved in the royal library at Paris, which concur in establishing the credibility of Abū'lfaragius's narrative. See Abd-Allatif, Relation de l'Egypte, par Sacy, pp. 240—244.

incidentally noticed :* in addition to them, it may be observed, that Alī, the fourth in succession from Mahomet, was the first who encouraged literature ; and the eight hundred and seventy-seven sentences of this Khalif afford a just and favourable specimen of that strong and sententious wit, for which the Arabians are distinguished.† Muāvia, the first Khalif of the Ommiad family, also evinced some taste for poetry and literature : but the dynasty of Al-Abbās, which succeeded it in the sovereign power, gave still greater encouragement to letters and the sciences ; and, by one of those singular but unaccountable revolutions, which mark the history of the Arabians, no sooner had their minds received a proper impulse, than they over-ran the departments of science with the same facility with which they had overspread the provinces of the east.

The golden age of Arabian Literature commenced in the East, in the Khilāfat of Abū Jaafar, surnamed Al Mansūr, who reigned A. H. 137—159, A. D. 754—775. Amidst several insurrections, many splendid conquests, much cruelty, and much avarice, he found time, taste, and money for a liberal encouragement of the arts ; and founded at Baghdad‡ a metropolis unequalled for magnificence and population, which continued to be the royal seat of his descendants for more than five centuries. Theology, philosophy, literature, and astronomy, were successfully cultivated : the Khalif's own reading lay principally in the Koran and the skies. To him, the Arabians were indebted for the introduction of medicine ; the knowledge of which was communicated to them by George Baktishua, a Christian physician, whose labours were rewarded with princely liberality ; and who, at the Khalif's

* See Part I. chap. i. pp. 45, 47, 49, supra.

† One hundred and sixty nine sentences of Alī were translated into English, and published by Mr. Ockley in 1718. But the completest edition is that of Cornelius Van Waenen, in Arabic and Latin, 4to, Oxford, 1806, printed at the Clarendon Press, in a manner not more honourable to the delegates, than gratifying to the industrious and learned editor, who did not live to see his work published. See an account of it and of him in Schnurrer's Bibliotheca Arabica, pp. 240—242.

‡ El-macin Hist. Sar. p. 102.

request, translated numerous works from the Greek, Syriac, and Persian languages, into that of Arabia.*

His grandson, the Khalif Hārūn Arrashīd, A. D. 786—809, who was dreaded by the Greeks for his skill, courage, and cruelty in war, is better known, and more deservedly celebrated in Europe for the promotion of the pacific arts, for his love of science, and for his encouragement of learning. The historian, El-Macin, assures us,† that he never travelled without a retinue of one hundred learned men. To his munificence the Arabians were indebted for the rapid progress which they made in literature and the sciences: for Hārūn issued a law, that no mosque should ever be erected, without attaching a school to it. In this wise measure he was imitated by his successors; and in a short time the sciences, that were cultivated in the capital, were diffused over the whole dominions of the Khilāfat. In the early part of his reign, Hārūn was not disposed to encourage the learned Christians: but, their superior skill in medicine having introduced them to his notice and favour, he rose superior to the bigotry which had distinguished the conduct of the early commanders of the faithful; and conferred the general superintendence of the schools, and studies prosecuted in his empire, on John Ibn Mesue, a Nestorian Christian of Damascus, who was deeply skilled in Greek literature.‡

But his honours, and the glory of his race, were eclipsed by his second son, the Khalif Al-Māmūn; who, during a prosperous reign of twenty years (A. D. 813-833), was the Augustus of his age and country. Previously to his ascending the throne, he selected for his companions the most eminent scholars among the Greeks, Persians, and Chaldeans; and, after his accession to the sovereign power, his court became the resort of poets, philosophers, and mathematicians. He collected around him the literati of every country; and Baghdad became the centre of the sciences. The first dignities in the state were held by men, distinguished for their literary acquirements; who were also dispatched

* Freind's Hist. of Medicine, vol. ii. pp. 8, 9, 10. Andres, tom. ii. p. 4.

† Hist. Sar. l. ii. c. 6. p. 120.

‡ Andres, tom. ii. p. 5.

into the various provinces of the empire,—into Syria, Armenia, and Egypt; and were commissioned to collect ancient manuscripts, and at the same time to scatter the rays of intellectual light. During the reign of Al-Māmūn, hundreds of camels entered Baghdad, laden wholly with manuscripts, and books in various languages; and those, which were deemed proper to augment the public instruction, were translated into Arabic, copied and dispersed among all classes of people.* Rightly judging, that the best treasures of Constantinople were deposited in its libraries, it is recorded to his honour, that, in concluding a treaty of peace with the Greek Emperor Michael III., he stipulated as one of the conditions, that a numerous collection of rare and valuable books should be given up to him.†

Under the fostering reign of this Khalif, medicine, jurisprudence, and the mathematics, took a new flight: astronomy, and the abstruser mathematics, however, were the favourite studies of Al-Māmūn; whose introduction of scientific pursuits alarmed the more rigid Moslems. And Takyuddīn (or Takeddīn, as he is sometimes called), a celebrated doctor of that time, is recorded to have declared that God would assuredly punish Al-Māmūn, for presumptuously interrupting the devotions of the faithful, by encouraging and diffusing philosophy among them.‡ But, with all the commendations which are due to the memory of this Khalif, it must be mentioned with regret, that through an ill-judged partiality for his native tongue, he gave orders that after the Arabic versions were finished, the original Greek manuscripts should be burned. || The disgrace, however, consequent on this measure, is in some degree cancelled by the diligence with which Al-Māmūn cultivated literature, and encouraged its progress and establishment in all the provinces of his extensive empire. Alexandria could boast her twenty schools: in later times, Cairo possessed numerous colleges; and the majesty of these edifices indicated the importance which was attached to the cultivation of letters. Fez and Marocco possessed similar

* Renaudot de Versionibus Arabicis et Syriacis, in Fabricii Bibliotheca Græca, vol. i. p. 862.

† Andres, tom. ii. pp. 5-8.

‡ Brucker, Hist. Crit. Philos. tom. iii. p. 39.

|| Leo Africanus de Viris illustribus Arabum, c. 1. apud Brucker, tom. iii. p. 38.

establishments for public instruction, where the study of literature was prosecuted with equal ardour.*

The Arabs had extended their conquests into Italy and Spain, and with their arms they carried their literature and sciences. In what manner the latter country fell under their dominion, our former pages have already recorded;† we have now to relate the more grateful and rapid progress of the sciences in Spain, where they flourished under the fostering care of the Arabian monarchs, while the grossest barbarism and superstition overspread the rest of Europe.

At the commencement of their empire the victors, from political motives, universally spared the conquered Christians, to cultivate the soil, and carry on commerce; while they reserved their forces for garrisons, or to overawe their recently acquired subjects:‡ afterwards, they contracted marriages with the Christians, and introduced into the country great numbers of Africans, besides fifty thousand Jews, and many Syrians of noble descent.§ At length the Spaniards, being totally subdued after a long and desperate resistance, concluded treaties with their conquerors; and becoming gradually accustomed to the manners, language, and habits of the Arabs, they became *Mozarabs*, or mixed Arabs.¶ Grievous were their lamentations for the churches that were either destroyed, or converted into places of worship by the Moslems, and also on account of the sacred books which are said to have been burnt in the first ebullition of their zeal for Islāmism.∥ As soon, how-

* Andres, tom. ii. p. 9, 10.

† See Part I. Chap. II. pp 56-65, *supra*.

‡ Schotti Hispania Illustrata, tom. iv. p. 220.

§ Casiri, Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis, tom. ii. p. 252.

¶ Schott. *Hisp. Illustr.* tom. p. 698, t. iii. p. 41, t. iv. p. 22. Casiri, t. ii. p. 18. In after times, however, the Mozarabs both understood and spoke the language of the Arabs.

∥ At the capture of Toledo, fifteen churches were totally destroyed by the Arabs; six they left to the Christians, and the remainder they appropriated to their own use. Petri Juliani Chronicon MS. apud Middeldorpf. *De Institutis Literariis Arabum in Hispania*, p. 7. The missal used by the Christians of Toledo is known by the appellation of the Mozarabic Missal, and is one of the rarest productions of the press. It is supposed to be the ancient Missal, amended and purged by St. Isidore, Archbishop of Seville: and, by the Council of Toledo was ordered to be used in all churches, every one of which before that time had a missal peculiar to itself. For an interesting

ever, as time and policy had cemented their conquests, the Arab monarchs of Spain applied themselves to the cultivation and diffusion of letters and the sciences: and while the Khalifs of Baghdad were instructing the east, the Khalifs of Cordova enlightened the west. The golden age of Arabian literature in Spain commenced in the reigns of the Abdurrahmāns, the first of whom founded the kingdom of Cordova: and the study of the sciences, with the good taste consequent on such pursuits, continued to flourish to a later period in Spain than in the east.

The Arab monarchs of Spain not only formed splendid libraries for their own use, but also founded and endowed them in all the principal cities of their respective kingdoms. Among the royal libraries, that of Alhakam,* one of the most liberal encouragers of literature in Spain, is peculiarly distinguished: it comprised four hundred thousand volumes, kept not for the purpose of ostentation; and every volume of which had been carefully examined by the Khalif, who with his own hand wrote in each the genealogies, births, and deaths of their respective authors.† Almutawakkil-al-Allah, who reigned at Granada in the twelfth century, possessed a magnificent library; and very many of the MSS. which originally formed a part of it, are now preserved in the library of the Escorial. In the different cities of Spain, seventy libraries were open to the public; but Cordova, Granada, Seville, and Toledo, were pre-eminent among the cities of the peninsula, for the magnificence of their libraries, colleges, academies, and schools. The academy or college of Granada was under the presidency of the very learned Shamsuddīn, who for many years was professor of polite literature there.‡

M. Middeldorpf has enumerated not fewer than seventeen distinguished colleges, academies, and schools, that flourished under the dominion of the Arabs in Spain, and of which some accounts are still to be obtained; § and has given lists of the eminent professors who taught

account of this very scarce and curious work, the reader may consult Mr. Dibdin's *Bibliomania*, pp. 212-214, and his *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*, vol. i. pp. 133-144.

* See p. 109, *supra*.

† Casiri, tom. ii. pp. 38, 201, 202.

‡ Ibid. t. i. p. 37.

§ Of the three principal Moorish universities of Cordova, Granada, and Seville, a short notice

in them, as well as of the theologians, poets, rhetoricians, and other illustrious writers who lived there. These interesting particulars, the limits necessarily assigned to the present sketch compel the author reluctantly to omit; but the constitution and discipline of the Spanish-Arabian academies and schools, are topics of too great interest to be altogether passed in silence. From the scattered notices which still remain, concerning their internal government and course of study, the following hints have been derived.

Every institution for the education of youth, strictly, was connected with religion: hence, public establishments for this purpose were always found in conjunction with the mosques. Of these foundations, there were two classes,—one was composed of inferior schools, where children, of the lower order principally, were instructed in the elements of reading, writing, and religion: many of these students were supported at the public expense. The usual course of instruction was thus. First, the youth were taught the Arabic alphabet, then the difference between each letter according to the pointing, next the composition or formation of the letters, vowels, &c. At length, they were instructed in pronunciation, and finally in the Koran, for the correct pronunciation of which, particular rules were prescribed.* It seems, indeed, that in ancient times, as well as at present, the studies of the inhabitants of the east were almost exclusively confined to grammar and the Koran; and this conjecture is confirmed both by the private histories of learned men, as well as by the general history of their literature.†

The second description of colleges which is known by the appellation of *Madras*, although connected with the mosques like the preceding class of schools, yet sometimes were independent establishments. Here has been given above, pp. 185, 201, 204. For the rest, the reader is referred to M. Middeldorpf's valuable and interesting disquisition, intitled: *Commentatio de Institutis Literariis in Hispania, quæ Arabes auctores habuerunt, in certamine literario civium Academiae Georgiæ Augustæ, die xv. Novembr. MDCCCX. præmio ornata.* Goettingæ, 4to. (1810). A good history of Arabian literature is still a desideratum in our language.

* Dombay Grammatica Linguae Mauro-Arabicæ. (Vienna, 1800, 4to.) pp. 40-45. D'Ohsson Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman. Tom. ii. p. 460.

† Abd-Allatif, Relation de l'Égypte, par Sacy, pp. 458, 459.

were taught grammar, syntax, the Koran, jurisprudence, and other sciences.* These academies, indeed, at their first institution, were designed for the exclusive study of jurisprudence and theology, and those pupils only were admitted to the benefit of them, who devoted themselves to letters for life. Students of this description were considered as enrolled among the priests; they were therefore employed, as public scribes, in drawing up wills for the dying, and to them was committed the task of instructing youth. Afterwards, however, as the Arabians proceeded to cultivate literature, private studies in the first instance, and then the course pursued in these academies, took a wider range; so that much more was taught than could be comprehended or remembered.† And many of these colleges were so constructed, as frequently to contain thirty apartments, each of which was occupied by three or four students.

The government of every academy and school was confided to a rector, who was chosen from the most eminent literati. Such was the celebrated Shamsuddīn, already noticed: and a similar office was held, in the university of Granada, by Sarājuddīn Abū Jaafar Omar Alhakemita Alphakani.‡ When the narrow principles of Islamism are considered, the liberality of the Arabians towards the professors of literature justly demands our admiration: we have already seen § that the eastern Khalifs

* The studies of the Turks in the modern madrasses or public colleges, are conducted with much order and method, and nearly on the plan above described: They are divided into ten classes, under the common denomination of *ilm*, which signifies knowledge or science, viz. 1. *Ilm-Sarf*, or grammar; 2. *Ilm-Nahhw*, or syntax; 3. *Ilm-Manntik*, or logic; 4. *Ilm-Adab*, or ethics; 5. *Ilm-Meāny*, or the science of allegories, which is substituted for rhetoric; 6. *Ilm-Kilam*, or *Ilm-Illahy*, that is theology; 7. *Ilm-Hikmat*, or philosophy; 8. *Ilm-Fikih*, or jurisprudence; 9. *Ilm-Tefsīr*, or the Koran, and the commentators thereon; and 10. *Ilm-Hadiss*, or the oral laws of the prophet. Most of the works, in which these sciences are studied, are composed and written in the Arabic language, the knowledge of which is indispensably necessary, and which can be acquired only by a constant application for many years. The private studies of the children of the *Ulema*, or theological lawyers, are conducted on the same plan as in the colleges; those of the nobility, and of such as apply themselves to politics, are confined to oriental history and philosophy. D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, tom. ii. pp. 467-477. † Abd-Allatif, par Sacy, p. 462.

‡ He flourished in the seventh century of the Hijra. Casiri, tom. i. p. 230, col. 2.

§ See pp. 210-212, *supra*.

employed Christians in the superintendence of their schools ; and, in Spain, we find that even Jews were appointed to superintend the academy or college at Cordova. Real learning was, in their estimation, of greater value than the religious opinions of the literati.*

That academical examinations took place among the students there is every reason to believe. With respect to the medical students, the fact is certain ; and it is probable that they followed the practice of the schools at Cairo, where it was the custom for these students to undergo a very strict investigation with respect to their literary acquirements.† In that city, it was the province of the Achimbasi, or chief physician, most rigidly to examine those who were preparing to exercise the healing art, relative to their medical knowledge ; and, after they had passed such examination, they received testimonials, authorising them to practise in that country.‡ A similar course of examination prevailed in Spain : and Casiri has noticed a treatise of Abū Jaafar Ahmad Ben Ishaac Alhusaini, a physician of Cordova ; which contains seventy-seven questions to be proposed to medical candidates.§ Jahia Ben Mahmed Ibn Edden delivered his treatise on medicine to Albuhakem ; in order that some judgment might be formed from it, relative to the state of the medical art in Granada : this work was finished in the 719th year of the Hijra, A. D. 1341.¶

Sometimes, however, the academical doctors were required to read and interpret some work, accounted classical by the Arabs : thus, the ten books on the canon law, composed in the sixth century of the Hijra, by Muhammad Ahmad Abū Baker Ben Ali Giamara, a native of Murcia, were given to the professors of Cordova, Murcia, Valencia, and Granada, for the purpose of being lectured upon.

The academies of the Spanish Arabs, indeed, have been considered as the abode of universal literature ; for, whatever tended to promote

* Rodriguez de Castro, Biblioteca Española, tom. i. prolegom. p. 3, text. p. 11, 12. apud Middeldorpf, p. 54.

† Alpinus, de Medicina Ægyptiorum, l. i. c. 2.

‡ Conringii Antiquitates Academicæ (edit. Heumanni) p. 265. Middeldorpf, p. 54.

§ Casiri, tom. i. p. 299, col. 1.

¶ Antonii Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus, tom. ii. p. 407.

its study, was commanded to be taught in them. Thus, the dogmatical treatise of Abū Muhammad Alhassan Ben Abdelrahmān Alramhermez, on Traditions, was publicly approved by the Colleges of Spain, Syria, and Egypt, in the years of the Hijra 561, 611, and 650, corresponding to A. D. 1165, 1214, and 1254.* The commentaries on the Book of Traditions, by Abdulgani Ben Abdilvāhid, a native of Jerusalem, received very great applause, from the Academies of Granada and Malaga.† In some cases, particular books were recommended to perusal: one instance of this kind it will be sufficient to notice, viz. the work of Ibn Alsala, on the Science of Traditions, which was so highly esteemed, that the Persian and Arabian Academies respectively decreed, that it should be publicly read in the schools.‡ In later times, however, the licensing of books, at least of those treating on theological topics, appears to have been committed to the Mohammedan priests:§ and the academies also attempted not only to prescribe limits to the studies of learned men, but also dictated to them particular works, which they were to execute. Thus, Nāsiruddīn Ibn Assad, of Seville, in obedience to the college of that city, made a collection of the more difficult productions of the most eminent poets, which he disposed in alphabetical order, and illustrated with commentaries for the use of the students.|| In like manner, Muhammad Ben Isa Abdalhac Algasanita, of Granada, collected together the poetical works of Ab'ulrabi Ibn Abi Mohamad, a native of Valencia, and published them, at the command of the Academy of Granada, to which he dedicated his labours.¶ It further appears, that the Spanish-Arabian Academies were accustomed to hold various public meetings to which the people were invited, similar to the *Commencement* and *Act* now annually held in our English Universities. On these occasions, poems were recited, and orations were delivered by the most eminent persons in the academies: many instances of this kind occur in the elaborate volumes of Casiri; but it will be

* Casiri, tom. i. p. 539. col. 1.

† Ibid. tom. i. p. 517. col. 1.

‡ Ibid. tom. i. p. 526. col. 2.

§ Ibid. tom. ii. p. 336. col. 2.

|| Ibid. tom. i. p. 114. col. 1.

¶ Ibid. tom. i. p. 135. col. 1.

sufficient for our present purpose to mention only the ~~the~~ two orations delivered by Mohamad Ben Isa Aba Baker,* at one of the yearly commemorations in the Academy of Granada.

To return from this digression, for which its importance and interest must be its apology ;—no nation, perhaps, ever existed, that felt and expressed a deeper reverence than the Arabians did, for the cause of learning. “No sooner,” says a poet, “do I see a learned man, than I long to prostrate myself before him, and kiss the dust of his feet.”† Both the written and traditional law came in aid of this laudable sentiment: “Equally valuable are the ink of the doctor and the blood of the martyr.” “To him, Paradise is open, who leaves behind him, his pens and his ink ;” or, in other words, who by his example commends his learning to his descendants. “The world is supported by four things only ;—the learning of the wise and the justice of the great, the prayers of the good, and the valour of the brave.”

Their practice held a conformity to these ideas ; and we have already seen with what zeal and perseverance the Khalifs encouraged and propagated learning, when the first ebullitions of their zeal for their faith of Islām subsided, and their empire was established. Even when the Khilāfat was dismembered by rival claimants, no difference of sentiment or conduct prevailed in this respect ; and Baghdad, Cordova, Cairo, and Kairūan, were equally the seats of royalty and learning. The independent Emirs, scattered over the oriental provinces, were animated with the same disposition : even those disorderly bands, whose trade was pillage and devastation, no sooner established themselves on the coasts of an enemy, than they strove with their power to co-extend the influence of learning, by opening academies and diffusing knowledge. Nor let it be forgotten, that the once celebrated medical school at Salerno, owed its foundation to the love of science, that animated the breast of rovers and free-booters. A people, proverbially

* He was distinguished for the brilliancy and learning displayed in his poetical works, but excelled most in amatory poems, in which he is reputed to have had no equal. Casiri, tom. ii. p. 77. col. 2.

† Introd. to Lit. Hist. of the 14th and 15th centuries, p. 89

savage, the piratical hordes of Algiers and Marocco, were softened by the address of these mighty masters of civilization into a reverence and love for learning. Those very cities, which now resound with the cries of Christian captives, then heard the less alarming voice of disputation, prided themselves in their scholars, and pensioned philosophers.*

Such a people, it is obvious, would bestow peculiar attention on their language, as the necessary or ornamental dress of their favourite, learning: and hence we find, that grammar and rhetoric were cultivated with singular care by all who aspired to literary honours and distinction. The Arabians boasted highly of the antiquity of their language, which is unquestionable: its copiousness, alike incontestible, was the object of their pride; and, according to their elevated ideas, no uninspired mortal was ever a complete master of Arabic.† There were several dialects of it, each greatly differing from the others, but the principal were, the Himyaric, which was spoken by the tribe of Himyar, and the other genuine Arabs, and that of the Koreish. The first, though the language of the most powerful of the Arabian princes, appears, however, to have been but little cultivated by the independent tribes, or even by those who paid them feudal obedience: a remarkable instance of which is related by Muhammadan writers. An envoy from a feudatory state, having been sent to the Tobba, or King by succession, the sovereign, on his introduction, pronounced the word *T'heb*, which in the Himyaric dialect implied "*Be seated*:" unhappily it signified *Precipitate yourself*, in the native dialect of the ambassador; who, with singular deference for his sovereign's orders, without hesitation or inquiry, threw himself from the castle wall and perished.‡ The dialect of the Koreish is usually styled the pure Arabic, or, as it is termed by the Koran, which is written in this dialect, the perspicuous

* Introd to Lit. Hist. of the 14th and 15th centuries, p. 91.

† Sir William Jones's Works, vol. iii. p. 54. (8vo. edit.) or Asiat. Res. vol. ii. pp. 5, 6. Sale's Koran, Prel. Disc. vol. 1. p. 34. 8vo. edit. Of the copiousness of this language some idea may be formed, when it is known that the Arabians had eighty synonymes for honey, two hundred for a serpent, five hundred for a lion, and one thousand for a sword!

‡ Richardson's Dissertation on the Language, &c. of the Eastern Nations, p. 5. 8vo. edit.

and clear Arabic: its politeness and elegance are attributed to the tribe of the Koreish, having the custody of the Caaba, and residing in Mecca, the centre of Arabia; which was not only more remote from foreigners, *who* might corrupt their language, but was also frequented by the Arabs from the whole of the surrounding country, both for the sake of religion, and likewise for the adjustment of their differences; from whose discourse and verses they adopted such words and phrases, as they judged to be more pure and elegant; and thus the beauties of the whole tongue became gradually transfused into this dialect.* The independence of the Arabian tribes is a further cause of the improvement of their language: for, although the Romans, Persians, and Ethiopians, made impressions at different times, upon particular districts, yet they were all too slight, and of too short a continuance, to make any material alteration in their government, manners, or language. To this must be added the care of the ancient Arabs (with whom the improvement of their idiom appears to have been a national concern), to polish their language, by the institution of solemn assemblies, for the purpose of displaying their poetical talents, and by holding it a duty to exercise their children in getting by heart the most approved compositions.†

From this uncommon attention to promote emulation, and to refine their language, the dialect of the Koreish became the purest, the richest, and the most polite of all the Arabian idioms. It was, therefore, studied in preference to all the rest, and, about the beginning of the seventh century, became the general language of Arabia; the other dialects being either incorporated with it, or gradually falling into disuse. By this singular idiomatic union, like the confluence of many streams into one large river, the Arabic has acquired an uncommon fullness: while the luxuriance of its synonymes, and the equivocal or opposite senses of the same or similar words, have furnished their writers with a wonderful power of indulging, in the fullest range, their favourite passion for antithesis and quaint allusion.‡

* Sale's Koran, Pr. Disc. vol. i. p. 34.

† Sir William Jones's Works, vol. iii. p. 67.

‡ Richardson's Dissertation, p. 8.

Of the characters, employed for the communication of ideas, and for preserving the compositions of ancient Arabia, we know but little; except that, as the Pagan Arabs had a number of dialects, so they had a variety of characters, all of which, however, were so perplexed in their formation, and so difficult in their use; that, about the beginning of the seventh century, the Himyaric characters* were laid aside, and the Arabians adopted the invention of Moramer Ibn Morra, a native of Anbar, a city of Babylonian Irak, who lived not long before the time of Muhammad.† In this character the Koran was originally written: it was afterwards improved under the appellation of Cūfic, and continued in use until the appearance of the Nishki character in the tenth century of the Christian æra.‡ As this new mode of writing soon prevailed universally, the Cūfic gradually declined, and is now

* It is certain, that the art of writing, in some sort of characters, was known in Arabia in a very early period: it is mentioned by the patriarch Job (ch. xix. v. 23, 24). The Himyaric characters, above-noticed, were those used by the tribe of Himyar, (whence their name), many centuries before the age of Muhammad, as appears from some ancient monuments still existing in Yaman, which are said to have inscriptions on them: these monuments, the learned traveller, Niebuhr, was, unfortunately for the interests of literature, prevented from visiting (Descr. de l'Arabie, p. 83). The Himyaric mode of writing, Casiri says, was called the *Himyaric Reed*, and consisted of mutilated, imperfect, and perplexed characters, which had so far fallen into disuse, in the time of Muhammad, that no person could be found, who was able to decypher an inscription written in these characters, which was discovered at Samarcand in the early years of the Hijra (Casiri, vol. ii. p. 25. col. 2.) Sale calls this character *Al Mosnad*, and adds, that it was neither publicly taught nor suffered to be used without permission being first obtained. Koran, vol. i. Prel. Disc. p. 34.

† Ebn Khalican apud Pococke Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 153. The same historian further says, that with the exception of the Jews and Christians resident in Medina, and who for their learning were distinguished by the appellation of "*the people of the book*,"—so great was the ignorance of the Arabs, that not a single person could be found in the whole district of Yaman, who could either read or write Arabic!

‡ The Cūfic characters also appear on Arabian coins, struck so late as the 14th century: they derive their name from the city of Cūfa, or Cufah, a town in Arabian Irak; and, Sir William Jones says, unquestionably had a common origin with the Hebrew or Chaldaic. Works, vol. iii. p. 55. Niebuhr has given some specimens of Cūfic writing, both from MSS. and Coins. Descr. de l'Arabie, pp. 84—88, et Planches IV. à XII. Most of the MSS. described by Casiri, are written in the same characters.

rarely to be found except in manuscripts and inscriptions executed in the early ages of the Hijra ; some very beautiful specimens of the Cūfic character are engraven in Mr. Murphy's elaborate Work on the " Arabian Antiquities of Spain,"* accompanied with translations by Professor Shakespear. The invention of the Nishki character, together with the diacritic points, which, with some variations or corruptions, is the same that now prevails in Arabia, Persia,† India, and other eastern countries, is generally ascribed to Ibn Moklah, Vizir to the Khalifs Al Muktadir, Al Kāhir, and Al Rādī, (who reigned between the years 908 and 940 of the Christian æra): but it was afterwards altered and improved by many eminent penmen, and was reduced to its present form by Yākūt Al Mustasimi, secretary to Al Mustasim, the last Khalif of the dynasty of Al-Abbās, and who, by way of distinction, was surnamed Al Khattāt, or the Scribe.‡

When the Arabs began to direct their attention to the cultivation of literature, the improvement and perfecting of their language engaged the studies and labours of a considerable number of learned men, who were divided into the two rival schools of Cūfa and Bassora, which produced many distinguished scholars, who analysed all the rules of the Arabic Language with the utmost nicety and accuracy. Nor were the literati of Spain inferior to those of the east in the prosecution of their grammatical investigations;§ and it has been remarked, that the number

* See particularly Plates LXXX. to LXXXVII. The translations of the poems, whence some of the above-mentioned inscriptions are taken, are given infra, in the Appendix.

† The Persians and Turks have five letters more in their alphabet, than the Arabs. Fournier, Manuel Typographique, tom. ii. p. 278.

‡ Casiri, tom. ii. p. 25. coll. 2. Sale, vol. i. Prel. Disc. p. 35. Richardson's Diss. p. 10. Niebuhr, Descr. de l'Arabie, p. 89.

§ Casiri, tom. i. (Præf.) p. ix. Among the *hundreds* of grammatical works, preserved in MS. in the Escorial Library, he particularly mentions an *Introduction to a correct and chastised mode of Speaking*, by Abu Mohammed Abdallah Ibn Heschem (ibid. p. 12. col. 2. and p. 24. col. 1.) In this work, which holds a distinguished character among the Arabians, the author treats, in the first part, on the purity of the Arabic language, and in the second he delivers precepts for the study of eloquence. In the course of his labours, he reviews and corrects the errors of numerous former grammarians.

of Arabian grammarians greatly exceeds that of the Greek writers on grammar.

The Arabians were early possessed of dictionaries: their first lexicon was compiled in the first century of the Hijra. Zamakhshari is the author of a dictionary, in which the meaning of every word is supported by numerous examples drawn from the rhetoricians and poets. Golius makes very honourable mention of the lexicons of Jauhari and Fīrūzābādī, particularly of the first; that of the latter is said to have consisted of SIXTY volumes! Ibn Al-Cossa composed an Onomasticon of scholastic, theological, and philosophical words: there were also distinct dictionaries of the names of animals and plants, as well as lexicons of the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Spanish languages. This taste for dictionaries continued until modern times, for Leo the African composed one in three languages.*

Of the early eloquence of the Arabs, little can be said, though it was both known and practised in Arabia while freedom flourished, being one of the three national characteristics by which they were proud to be distinguished; yet it must have been strongly tinged with the rudeness of the times. The Koran is the first Arabic composition in prose which we have: of its doctrines it falls not within our plan to treat: but, as a literary work, its style is generally admitted to be pure and elegant, though not without some mixture of other dialects. Notwithstanding the want of connexion between its parts, and its consequent obscurity (for the different chapters of which it is composed are arranged according to their length, rather than the subject matter), it must nevertheless be admitted, that no other Arabic work that is extant, contains passages more truly sublime and poetical, and which at the same time are written with more transporting eloquence. A great judge of oriental literature† has remarked, that Muhammad, or his assistant, whoever it might be, that composed the Koran, must have been endowed with admirable wit and genius, and with equal

* Casiri, tom. i. p. 172. col. 1. Andres, tom. ii. pp. 18, 19.

† Sir William Jones. Works, vol. vi. pp. 339, 340 (De Poësi Asiat. c. xx. sub initio).

powers of persuasion : nor was his prudence less admirable, which so dexterously accommodated itself to the understandings and ears of an uncultivated multitude. In the form of didactic precept, in which the Korān is written, and under that authority of a master which its author assumes, it was not difficult for him to impose upon the simple and unsuspecting minds of his followers, who were interested in the success of his arms ; and to whom the idea of his divine commission was welcome, as affording the spirit and support of their party. Nor is there a necessity for recurring to any other cause, to account for the admiration in which this composition is still held, than that principle of attachment, with which all men are disposed to regard the earliest productions of their country*

The eloquence of the Korān was a principal cause of its success : it is, confessedly, the standard of the Arabic language ; and, as the more orthodox Moslems believe, and are taught by the book itself, is inimitable by any human pen. It has, therefore, been always held forth as the greatest of miracles, and equally stupendous with the act of raising the dead, and alone sufficient to convince the world of its divine original†: and to this pretended miracle, Muhammad chiefly appealed for the confirmation of his mission, publicly challenging the most eloquent of his contemporaries in Arabia to produce even a single chapter that might be compared with it. Though written in prose, yet the sentences generally conclude in a long continued rhyme, for the sake of which the sense is often interrupted, and unnecessary repetitions are too frequently made ;‡ which appear still more ridiculous in a translation, where the ornament, such as it is, for whose sake they were made, cannot be

* For this remark we are indebted to the late learned Professor White's celebrated Bampton Lectures (notes and authorities, p. xxx), to which the inquisitive reader is referred for much interesting disquisition relative to Mohammedism.

† Maracci de Alcorano, cap. 6. p. 43, 44. The celebrated writer, Al Jannabi, in one of the passages cited by Maracci, asserts that the Korān contains sixty thousand miracles !

‡ Korān, ch. 2, 11, and 17. Sale's Prel. Disc. vol. i. p. 80.

perceived.* The style of the Korān is generally beautiful and fluent, especially where it imitates the prophetic manner and scriptural phrases. It is concise, but often obscure, adorned with bold figures after the eastern taste, and in many places, especially where the majesty and attributes of God are described, sublime and magnificent.† Yet, as the elegant historian of the Roman Empire has justly observed, “The
 “harmony and copiousness of its style will not reach, in a version,
 “the European infidel: he will peruse, with impatience, the endless
 “incoherent rhapsody of fable, and precept, and declamation, which
 “seldom excites a sentiment or an idea, which sometimes crawls in the
 “dust, and is sometimes lost in the clouds. The divine attributes exalt
 “the fancy of the Arabian missionary; but his loftiest strains must
 “yield to the sublime simplicity of the book of Job, composed in a
 “remote age, in the same country, and in the same language.”‡ The

* Sale's Prel. Disc. vol. i. p. 81. Pfeifferi Critica Sacra, cap. 16. Quæst. 3. (Opera Philol. vol. ii. p. 817), et De Theol. Judaic. atque Mohammedic. Thes. 18. (ibid. p. 937). Casiri, tom. i. p. 48. col. 2.

† Sale, vol. i. p. 81. Of the sublimity of the Korān, the following passage may be adduced in illustration of the remark in the text: it is deservedly admired by the Mohammedans, who wear it engraved on their ornaments, and recite it in their prayers:—“God! there is no God but he;
 “the living, the self-subsisting: neither slumber nor sleep seizeth him: to him belongeth whatsoever is in heaven and on earth. Who is he that can intercede with him, but through his good
 “pleasure? He knoweth that which is past, and that which is to come. His throne is extended
 “over heaven and earth; and the preservation of both is to him no burden. He is the high and
 “mighty.” (Koran, ch. ii. vol. i. p. 37. 8vo. or p. 30 of 4to. edit.). To this description, observes Professor White, who can refuse the praise of magnificence? Part of that magnificence, however, is to be referred to that verse of the Psalmist, whence it was borrowed, “He that keepeth
 “Israel, shall neither slumber nor sleep.” Psal. cxxi. v. 4. But if we compare it with that other passage of the same inspired Psalmist, all its boasted grandeur is at once obscured, and lost in the blaze of a greater light. “O, my God,” says he, “take me not away in the midst of my days;
 “thy years are throughout all generations. Of old hast thou laid the foundations of the earth;
 “and the heavens are the work of thy hands. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure: yea, all
 “of them shall wax old as doth a garment; as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall
 “be changed, but thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail.” (Psal. cii. v. 24-27). Bampton Lectures, p. 248.

‡ Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. ix. p. 269. 8vo. edit

Korān is not only the foundation of the faith of the Moslems, but, so delighted are the Arabians with the euphony of its periods, that it is considered by them as a classic: hence they employ it in their most elaborate compositions, and embellish these with frequent passages selected from it, and also with allusions to it; so that it becomes almost impossible to understand them, without being well versed in the Korān.

After the time of Muhammad and his immediate successors, popular eloquence for some time ceased to be cultivated by the Arabians: oriental despotism having substituted itself in place of the freedom of the desert, the chiefs of the state and of the army alike considered it as beneath them, to harangue either the people or the soldiery. But, though political eloquence held but a short sway over the Arabians, the latter, by way of retaliation, became the inventors of that species, which in our times is most cultivated.† They exercised themselves, alternately, in the eloquence of the academy and of the pulpit: and their philosophers eagerly seized the opportunity of displaying before learned assemblies, the varied numbers and harmony of their beautiful language. Among the orators who were most distinguished in this department of literature, Ibn-Malik was considered as the most pathetic; Ibn-Shuraif was acknowledged to possess the art of blending the brilliancy of poetry with the vigour of prose, more skilfully than any other orator; and Al Hariri was placed in the same rank with Demosthenes and Cicero. The last-mentioned orator was the author of some academical compositions; which, to adopt the expressions of Shirāzī, deserved to be written,—not on paper or vellum,—but, on silk and gold.‡

With respect to the eloquence of the pulpit, as Muhammad had ordained that his faith should be preached in every mosque, the appellation of Khatīb, which originally was common to all orators, became

† Sismondi, *Hist. Litt. du Midi de l'Europe*, tom. ii. p. 51.

‡ Sir William Jones has given a very high character of the fifty declamations of Hariri, on the reverses of fortune, and on the treatise of Ezzo'ddin, intituled “a Revelation of Secrets concerning the Properties of Birds and Flowers.” *De Poësi Asiat.* c. xx. (Works, vol. vi. pp. 342, 343).

gradually restricted to those who inculcated the doctrines and duties of Islamism; and their sermons or discourses were called Khutbah. In the library of the Escorial, we meet with the names and titles of the works of not less than sixty of these orators; whose mode of proceeding is not unlike that adopted by the ministers of the Christian Religion. The preachers commence their sermons by thanksgiving and a profession of faith, to which succeed prayers for the sovereign, and the prosperity and happiness of his dominions. The text is then expounded, and the subject matter opened, which is further supported by passages from the Korān, by authorities drawn from the writings of their doctors, and by examples: the preacher concludes with an application to the people, whom he exhorts to virtue, while he reprobates vice.

The didactic writers on rhetoric are so numerous, that our notice is necessarily limited to a very few of the most eminent. Of this description is the work of Badruddīn, the son of Ibn-Malik Tāī, intituled the **TORCH**,* which (says Andres) diffused light over every species of eloquence: this author flourished at Granada in the sixth century of the Hijra. Abū Muhammad Abdullāh, a native of Badajos, in the ninth century of the same æra, wrote *Institutions of Rhetoric and the Art of Poetry*, under the title of “A Method of Writing.” The “Flowery Meadow,” of Jallāluddīn Abdurrahmān, surnamed Al Soyuti, ought not to be passed in silence: it presents the fairest and finest view of Arabic literature, and exhibits much important information which will in vain be sought elsewhere. To this work our learned Pococke acknowledges his “*Specimen Historiæ Arabum*” to be chiefly indebted for whatever learning it may contain.† But the most celebrated writer on rhetoric, is Al-Sekaki, a native of Persia, who has been called the Quintilian of the Arabians.‡ His *Institutions*, known by the appellation of the *Key of the Sciences*, are divided into three parts: in the first,

* Casiri, tom. i. p. 58. col. 2.

† Casiri, tom. i. p. 56. col. 2. The library of the Escorial contains a great number of treatises by this distinguished Arabian scholar.

‡ Casiri, tom. i. p. 29. col. 1. and p. 48. col. 1.

he treats on the elements of Grammar; in the second, he discusses the art of Oratory; and the third contains the Art of Poetry. This work has been commented upon, and illustrated by various learned Arabians, to whom we are indebted for sixty other works on rhetoric, a considerable number of which is deposited in the library of the Escorial.*

Poetry, however, was a far more favourite object of attention with the Arabians, than Eloquence: but it is so immense a field, that he who enters it, is in danger of losing his way, for Arabia is said to have produced more poets than all the rest of the world together. That it was early cultivated, is certain; and the Arabs appear to have been chiefly indebted to their poetry for the polishing, and even for the preservation of their language, before the use of letters was introduced among them.† A difference of opinion, however subsists between the most eminent judges of Arabian poesy, relative to its antiquity,‡ which it is exceedingly difficult to reconcile; but we are not involved in the

* Andres, tom. ii. pp. 21—25.

† Jallāluddīn al Soyutī, apud Casiri, tom. i. p. 17, col. 2, and p. 72. col. 1.

‡ The elder Albert Schultens, in his *Monumenta Vetustiora Arabiæ*, (Lug. Bat. 4to. 1740), has collected many specimens of ancient Arabian Poetry: among these are two little poems in an elegiac strain, said to have been discovered about the middle of the seventh century in some fragments of ruined edifices in Hadramūt, near Aden, and which are supposed to be of an indefinite, but very remote age. It may, Sir William Jones remarks, naturally be asked, in what characters were they written? Who decyphered them? Why were not the original letters preserved in the book where the verses are cited? What became of the marbles which Abdurrahmān, then Governor of Yemen, most probably sent to the Khalif at Baghdad? If they be genuine, they prove the people of Yemen to have been herdsmen and warriors, inhabiting a well-watered country full of game, and near a fine sea abounding with fish, under a monarchical government, and dressed in green silk, or vests of needle work, either of their own manufacture, or imported from India. The measure of these verses, that elegant scholar continues, is perfectly regular, and the dialect undistinguishable, by him at least, from that of the Koreish: so that, if the Arabian writers were much addicted to literary impostures, Sir William Jones would strongly suspect them to be modern compositions on the instability of human greatness, and the consequences of irreligion, illustrated by the example of the Himyaric princes; and he suspects the same of the first poem quoted by Schultens, which he ascribes to an Arab in the age of Solomon (Works, vol. iii. p. 61.) As Abulfeda (Annales, tom. i. p. 22, et seq.) has cited some parts of this poem, his learned editor

same degree of uncertainty, with regard to the subjects which engaged the ancient muses of Arabia. In their poems were preserved their genealogies, the rights of tribes and the memory of great actions. An excellent poet reflected an honour on his tribe: and his merit and genius were celebrated by the applause of his own, and of the kindred tribes. A solemn banquet was prepared: and a chorus of women, decorated with their nuptial ornaments, and striking their timbrels, sung in the presence of their sons and husbands the felicity of their native tribe; who now had a champion to vindicate their rights, to preserve their genealogies and the purity of their language, and to transmit their actions to posterity. The distant or hostile tribes resorted to an annual fair, held at a place called Ocadh, which was abolished by the bigotry of the first Moslems. Thirty days were employed in the exchange, not only of corn and wine, but also of eloquence and poetry. The prize was disputed by the generous emulation of the bards; the merits of whose respective productions were impartially determined by the assembly at large; and the victorious performance was deposited in the archives of princes and emirs.* The indissoluble union of gene-

Reiske (Annotat. Histor. p. 9, not. 15.) has given his opinion against its remote antiquity, and thinks it more recent than even the age of Muhammad. He further asserts, that there is not one of the poems in Schultens's collection, who ascribes to them a date of seven hundred years prior to Muhammad, that is not counterfeited and supposititious. "There is," he continues, "no trace of antiquity whatever, nor any vestige of the Himyaric dialect to be found in them: they are written in a prosaic style. If, indeed, they were Himyaric, they would abound in terms and words peculiar to that tribe, and which scarcely a single Arabian understands. But where are these idiomatic expressions,—where those characters of the Himyaric dialect? In reply to these observations of Reiske, another celebrated scholar observes, that there is nothing peculiar to be discovered in these verses, nor different from the common language: but, let us suppose that individual forms of words, which were either obsolete or foreign, have imperceptibly been changed for others more familiar; and this will appear very probable, when it is considered, that the ancient verses in question were committed to memory, preserved by tradition, and not transmitted by writing. Further, the absence of poetical skill and colouring, is so far from proving any thing against their antiquity, that it rather tends to confirm it. Schnurrer, Bibliotheca Arabica, pp. 204—205.

* Sale's Koran, vol. i. p. 36—38. Casiri, vol. ii. p. 17. Gibbon, vol. ix. p. 241. It is worthy

rosity and valour was the darling theme of their song ; and when they pointed their keenest satire against a contemptible race, they affirmed, in the bitterness of reproach, that their men knew not how to give, nor their women to deny.

The Arabians, like the Greeks, boast of their poetical Pleiades, or seven illustrious bards, whose works are considered as the finest that were written before the time of Muhammad ; and on account of their uncommon excellence, are distinguished by the appellation of Muallakāt, or Suspended, because they were suspended around the Caaba, or Temple at Mecca ; and of Mudhāhibāt, or the Golden Verses, being written in characters of gold upon Egyptian paper.* In later times, the Arabians have also had their Horace, their Propertius, and their Tibullus. But, notwithstanding poetry was early cultivated by them, they did not at first write their poems of any just length, but only expressed themselves in verse occasionally ; nor was their prosody digested into rules until some time after Muhammad. When the empire of the Arabs became established, and peace was restored, the taste for poetry, as well as other branches of literature revived. Under the Khalifs of the house of Al-Abbās, the muses of Arabia, which had long been silent, resumed the lyre ; and, in the reigns of Hārūn Ar-Rashīd, of his successor Al-Māmūn, and especially of the Khalifs of the Ommiyad dynasty in Spain, the Arabian poetry attained its highest degree of splendour. It was first submitted to regular rules by Khalīl Ibn Ahmad al Farāhidi, who lived in the reign of Harūn Arrashīd ; but received still greater improvements from Mutanabbī, who is styled the prince of poets.

of remark, that the public congratulations above-mentioned were made only on the birth of a boy, the rise of a poet, and foaling of a mare of a generous breed ; which the Arabians esteemed three points of great felicity.

* The seven poems of the Caaba were published in English by the late Sir William Jones, whose honourable mission to India (and subsequent death in that country) has deprived us of his notes, far more valuable than the text itself. The poems form part of the tenth volume of the octavo edition of his works.

The Arabians cultivated poetry with the greatest ardour, both under the patronage of the eastern Khalifs, and also in Spain. The greatest encouragement was given to them by the sovereigns and great men, who liberally rewarded them for the exertions of their muse. *Confined as this sketch is chiefly to the literature of Arabian Spain, its limits preclude an enumeration even of those poets, who were accounted the principal: it may, however, be remarked, that the descendants of royalty did not think it beneath their dignity to cultivate the muse; and that many eminent women applied themselves to the same elegant pursuit. Among these, the following are the most distinguished, viz. Muatammad Ibn Abbād, Sultan of Seville, and Alī Ibn Abd Algany of Cordova, who was patronised by Muatammad:†—Valada, or Valadata, the daughter of Almuastakfi Billāh, Khalif of Spain, who is considered as the Arabian Sappho; endowed with equal beauty and genius, she devoted herself entirely to the study of rhetoric and poetry, and cultivated the friendship of the most eminent poets of her time, in whose conversation she took great delight.‡ Aysa, the daughter of Prince Ahmad of Cordova, who was pre-eminently distinguished for her genius, learning, and

* The poetical MSS. in the library of the Escorial, including commentators and critics on the works of poets, amount to two hundred and twenty-one, many of which comprise the productions of several authors. As an instance of the munificent encouragement of the great, Casiri relates from Leo Africanus, that, early in the morning of certain days, the poets of Fez were accustomed to assemble at the Governor's house, where they recited verses in praise of Muhammad before an immense concourse of people; and that he, whose verses were most applauded, received a hundred ducats (*centum aureis*), a robe which the king wore that day, and a female slave. The other poets received fifty ducats each, so that no one departed without partaking of the royal bounty: the poet Aladdin, Casiri adds, once received five thousand golden ducats from Malek Aldener Bibar, King of Egypt, for two distichs only. *Bibliotheca Arab. Escorial. tom. i. pp. 84, 85.*

† The late learned Professor Carlyle, has given a version of two of their productions, in his elegant "Specimens of Arabian Poetry," pp. 104—108, 8vo. edit. The composition of the Sultan is both pleasing and mournful: the verses of Ibn Abd are much inferior, and not very unlike the compositions of our own metaphysical poets in the seventeenth century.

‡ Her poetical compositions are characterised by wit and ingenuity, as will appear from the following verses, addressed by her, *impromptu*, to some young men who had pretended a passion for herself and her companions:

poetical talents; her orations and poems were very frequently read in the Royal Academy at Cordova with the greatest applause; she died in the year of the Hijra 400—A. D. 977, leaving behind her numerous monuments of her genius, together with a very extensive and well-selected library:—Labana, also a native of Cordova, of great merit as a poetess, who was well skilled in philosophy and arithmetic, and held an office not often enjoyed by females, that of private secretary to the Khalif Alhakam:—Safia, of Seville, who, in addition to distinguished oratorical and poetical talents, excelled all others in the calligraphic art; so that her penmanship was at once the subject of admiration, and an example to be copied by the most skilful scribes:—Algasania, of Seville, who was singularly gifted with poetical and oratorical powers, and composed many poems in praise of some Khalifs, which were highly commended: and Maria, the daughter of Abū Yākūb Al Faisuli, who has been called the Arabian Corinna; she also, was eminent for learning and poetry. Casiri mentions an epigram of her's, extant in the Arabic Library at the Escorial, of such elegance and ingenuity, that, on comparing it with other epigrams, the productions of illustrious poets, nothing more elegant can be found.* Some specimens of the Arabian muse will be found in the Appendix to this work, which contains the poems from which passages are most elegantly inscribed on the walls of the Alhamrā.

“ When you told us our glances, soft, timid, and mild,

“ Could occasion such wounds in the heart,

“ Can ye wonder that years, so ungoverned and wild,

“ Some wounds to our cheeks should impart?

“ The wounds on our cheeks are but transient, I own,

“ With a blush they appear and decay:

“ But those on the heart, fickle youths, ye have shewn,

“ To be even more transient than they.”

Carlyle's Specimens, p. 103. Casiri, tom. i. p. 106. Casiri relates that this princess uniformly gained the prize in her academical contests, whether in prose or verse (tom. ii. p. 149). She died in the year of the Hijra, 484. A. D. 1091.

* Casiri, t. ii. p. 150.

The number of poets was so great, that Abū'l Abbās, son of the Khalif Muatassim, wrote an abridgment of their lives: he notices one hundred and thirty-one poets, and gives specimens of their productions. Casiri has further recorded the fragment of a work, intitled "The Theatre of the Poets," which originally consisted of twenty-four volumes.* In the library of the Escorial, there are numerous collections of poems, termed Divāns, or Academical Prolusions, from the circumstance of their having been honoured with a recital in the colleges or academies: they consist of idyls, elegies, epigrams, odes, satires, and almost every other species of poetry which we have received from the Greeks and Romans.† The Divān of Abū Nawās contains all these different kinds of poetry; and that of Ibn Mukannas, who for his acuteness and wit has been styled the Arabian Martial, has attained great celebrity. Of all the various species of poetical composition, whether amatory, elegiac, pastoral, moral, or satirical, which were cultivated by the Arabians, didactic poetry appears to have been the most *fashionable*. Hence we find, that they wrote in verse, treatises on grammar, theology, rhetoric, and even on the abstruse sciences, with as much facility as in prose. Amid all this variety, it is a curious circumstance, that they have not a single poem which is *strictly* epic: they are, however, in possession of elegant histories, adorned with all the charms of poetry. In these histories we meet with bold and strongly marked images, lively expressions, and most beautiful descriptions, clothed in such a variety of numbers, that nothing can be conceived better adapted to delight, instruct, or deeply affect the reader.‡

Dramatic poetry was as little cultivated by the Arabians, as the epic: they appear to have been equally unacquainted with tragedy and comedy, unless we dignify with that appellation a few dialogues in rhyme.

* Casiri, tom. i. p. 66. col. ii.

† Casiri, tom. i. p. 85. col. 2.

‡ Sir William Jones classes the History of Timūr, by the celebrated Ibn Arabshah, among the heroic poems of this description. De Poësi Asiaticâ, cap. 12. (Works, vol. vi. pp. 227—231.) To which the reader is referred for a classical account of the poetry of the Arabians. Some excellent remarks on their epic poetry also occur in Professor Carlyle's Specimens, preface, pp. xi—xiii. On the versification of Arabian poetry, Casiri may likewise be consulted, tom. i. pp. 86—87.

Only two poetical compositions are extant, that bear even a slight resemblance to comedy. The first is that of Muhammad, a native of Velez, in which the interlocutors converse on various arts, and reproach each other with their deficiencies, sometimes jocularly, and at others, with abusive language: on the whole, it is rather to be considered as a satire than a comedy. The other piece, with somewhat better pretensions to the title, is styled the Comedy of Blatero, and is divided into three parts or acts. The subject of the first is, the sale of a horse, and the characters introduced are, Blatero, a quarrelsome chieftain, and a lawyer; who, in the course of their squabble concerning the sale of the animal, utter many acute and witty sayings. The second part describes the customs and frauds practised by itinerant physicians, astrologers, and other vagabonds, whose arts for deceiving the vulgar are detected and unmasked: and the third part exhibits the manners of lovers.*

In order fully to appreciate the beauties of Arabian poetry, it is necessary that the reader should be acquainted with the country in which the poet lived, its situation and peculiarities, and also with the manners of the inhabitants and the idiom of the language.† For want of this knowledge, the Arabian muses have been criticised with extreme severity and injustice. Oriental poetry abounds with strong expressions, bold metaphors, glowing sentiments, and animated descriptions, portrayed in the most lively colours: and, although our limits forbid a detailed examination of all the sources from which the poetical images of the Arabians derive their astonishing brilliancy, yet a few remarks may, perhaps, be permitted, illustrative of the genius of Arabian poetry, and at the same time to point out some of those advantages which Asiatic authors enjoy over Europeans.

In the first place, their idioms are rich and copious; they live in a warm and fertile climate, surrounded by objects equally beautiful and agreeable, from which, however, the sublime are not excluded; they enjoy a delightful repose, and devote their leisure to a passion, which

* Casiri, tom. ii. p. 136. col. i.

† Sir W. Jones de Poësi Asiaticâ, cap. v. (Works, vol. vi. pp. 100, 101). This elegant scholar has given several very happy illustrations of the remark above given.

contributes early to inspire them with good taste, and which is the true spring and source of agreeable poetry. Hence, we find that love has a greater share in their poems than any other passion : it seems always to be uppermost in their minds, and there is hardly an elegy, a panegyric, or even a satire, in their language, which does not begin with the complaints of an unfortunate, or the exultations of a successful lover. To these sources of Arabian poetry must be added the richness and beauty of their language ; which is expressive, strong, sonorous, and perhaps the most copious in the world : for, as almost every tribe had words appropriated to itself, the poets, for the convenience of their measure, or sometimes for their singular beauty, made use of them all ; and, as these poems became popular, they were gradually incorporated with the whole language, like a number of little streams which meet together in one channel, and, forming a most plentiful river, flow rapidly into the sea.* Further, among the peculiar advantages enjoyed by the Arabian poets, the veneration in which poetry is held, and the pleasure derived from it, are not to be regarded among the least. In the east, the smallest talent is cultivated : and they who possess any spark of genius, instead of suffering it to lie dormant, labour to distinguish themselves in an art so universally respected.

The Arabian poetry is in rhyme, which, however, does not fetter the sense as in European verses, the copiousness of the language furnishing the author with vast numbers of words having a similar termination : hence, in some of the longest Arabian poems, the same rhyme is continued alternately through the whole work. From this facility of versification, as well as the warmth of the climate, Sir William Jones is inclined to think that Asia has produced more juvenile poets than any other quarter of the world : and to the same causes also he ascribes the singular readiness and vivacity of the Arabians in their impromptus.† But, however extravagant the productions of the

* Sir Wm. Jones's Works, vol. x. pp. 337—340. vol. xii. pp. 173—175.

† Ibid, Works, vol. xii. pp. 177—179. Professor Carlyle has translated three pleasing poems of the most celebrated improvisatori poets in Baghdad, under the reign of the Khalif Mutawakkil. Specimens, pp. 54—58.

Arabian muse may appear to the more chastised taste of Europeans, it was subjected to particular laws, relative to the structure of the rhymes the form of the verses, and the length of the poems, which imparted to the whole composition that harmony, by which every phrase or verse was previously regulated.* The two forms of versification most in use are the Gazelle or Ghazal, and the Casside, or Kasīda; both are composed in distichs, and every other verse in each distich rhymes together throughout the poem, the intermediate verses not being in rhyme. The casside is an idyl, both amatory and martial, the length of which varies from ten to one hundred distichs: the gazelle is an amatory ode, which ought to contain not less than seven, nor more than thirteen distichs. The former is entirely in the style of Petrarch's Canzoni, and the latter of his sonnets: and, similar to Petrarch's Canzoniere, or collection of Canzoni and sonnets on different subjects, is the Divān of the Arabians and Persians above noticed. A complete Divān, in their judgment, is that, in which the poet has regularly followed all the letters of the alphabet in his rhymes; and in this taste they have been imitated by all the poets that were formed in their school.

Although the Arabians possess neither epic nor dramatic poetry, strictly so called, the absence of these is abundantly compensated by their invention of a kind of composition, which partakes of the nature of epic poesy, and is with them a substitute for theatrical representations. To their creative fancy, to their brilliant and rich imagination, we owe those beautiful tales, which charm our juvenile minds, and which we re-peruse with equal delight in our riper years. With the "*Alif Lila Va Lilin*," or *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, who is not acquainted? It is, however, a subject of regret that we possess only a comparatively small part of these truly interesting fictions; which are further valuable, not only as exhibiting a faithful picture of oriental manners during the splendour of the Khilāfat, but also for the useful and instructive moral which they frequently inculcate. Nothing, it

* For further remarks on the versification of Arabian Poetry, the reader is referred to Sir Wm. Jones, *De Poësi Asiaticâ*, cap. ii. (Works, vol. vi. pp. 22—59.) and Casiri, tom. i. pp. 86—88.

† Sismondi, tom. i. pp. 60—62.

has been justly observed, can be better written than the well-known tale of Alnaschar, to illustrate that important moral—the fatal consequence of not resisting our fancies.*

This immense collection of tales is not only committed to writing, but also constitutes the sole riches of a very great number of story-tellers, of both sexes; who, wherever Islāmism holds its sway, gain their livelihood by relating their tales to public auditories, that willingly bury their present cares in the pleasing dreams of the imagination. In Asia, as in Africa, in the midst of their deserts, they assemble nightly in their tents, around the cheerful fire, listening to these stories with such attention and pleasure, as totally to forget the fatigues and hardships, with which, an instant before, they had been almost entirely overcome.† In the coffee-houses of the Levant, a story-teller will, to this day, convene a silent and deeply attentive auditory: sometimes he excites terror or pity; more frequently he delights his hearers with brilliant fantastic visions; sometimes he even provokes laughter; and it is only on these occasions that the foreheads of the Moslems relax a little from their unbending gravity. The relation of tales constitutes the only public amusement of the Levant, and the story-tellers univer-

* Harris's Philological Inquiries, Part III. ch. vii. p. 347. 8vo. edit. The best English translation of the Arabian Tales is that in 6 vols. 8vo. by Professor Scott. Dr. D. E. Clarke has given a curious list of one hundred and seventy-two Tales, contained in a MS. purchased by him in Egypt; which are divided into one thousand and one nights, each tale being supposed to occupy many nights in the recital. This celebrated traveller subjoins a remark, that will sufficiently account for the comparatively small part of the Arabian Tales which we possess. "It rarely happens," says he, "that any two copies of the *Alif Lila va Lilin* resemble each other. This title is bestowed on any collection of Eastern Tales, divided into the same number of parts. The compilation depends upon the taste, the caprice, and the opportunities of the scribe, or the commands of his employer. Certain popular tales are common to almost all copies of the *Arabian Nights*, but almost every selection contains some tales which are not to be found in any other. Much depends upon the locality of the scribe: and the popular stories of Egypt will be found to differ materially from those of Constantinople." Travels, vol. ii. pp. 701—704.

† Similar assemblies are, to this day, held among the aboriginal inhabitants of Ireland. Whole families frequently meet, during the winter, at each other's houses, or cabins, and listen to the *Tales of other Times*, which many of the old people relate with admirable address and effect. Harmer's Observations on various passages of Scripture, vol. iii. p. 221. note (4th edit.)

sally supply the place of our comedians. But they are not confined to places of public resort: female narrators beguile the tedious leisure of the seraglios; physicians, not unfrequently, direct their patients to send for story-tellers, to allay pain, to calm the agitated spirits, and to produce sleep after long watchfulness: and, so well are these persons accustomed to the task, that they can modulate their voice, by lowering its tone, and gently suspending it, until at length they cause the patient to fall fast asleep.*

Allied to these interesting tales, are the fables of Lokman, an Arabian sage who is supposed to have been contemporary with David and Solomon. His wisdom, together with the good sense and striking morality of his fables, bear so great a resemblance to those of Æsop, that it is to this day a question, whether the latter did not derive his fables from an oriental source, if indeed Æsop and Lokman be not the same identical personages, which is highly probable. However this point may hereafter be determined, Lokman has ever been regarded in the east as an extraordinary character; and in the thirty-first chapter of the Koran, which bears his name, Mahomet has represented the Almighty as saying, "We heretofore bestowed wisdom on Lokman."† Many are the marvellous tales recorded of this philosopher; whose figure is said to have been exceedingly deformed, and who is further reported to have been in the very humble condition of a slave.‡

Every branch of history was cultivated with great avidity by the Arabians: each Khalif had his respective historiographer; and there is extant an immense number of universal histories, annals, and chronicles, besides histories of particular kingdoms, provinces, and towns. Many of the most valuable historians have already been noticed:§ and, in addition to these we may mention, among the writers of universal history, the celebrated Abū-l-Feda, prince of Hamāth in Syria; among the authors of particular history, Lisānuddīn Abū Abdillāh Assalmāny, usually called Ibnu-l Khatīb (and by modern writers

* Sismondi, t. i. p. 65.

† Sale's Koran, pp. 335, 336, and note (4to. edit.)

‡ D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, tom. ii. pp. 485—489.

§ See Part I. II. Chap. I. pp. 31—40, *supra*.

Alkhatib) deserves a special notice, since our pages are indebted to his researches for many important facts.

This illustrious writer was descended from a noble family, and was born A. H. 713. A. D. 1313. He was deeply versed in every branch of science, but excelled in the depth and accuracy of his knowledge of historical events. Promoted by the favour of several kings of Granada, he filled the highest offices for many years with great celebrity. Towards the close of his life, however, he experienced a great reverse of fortune: having been accused of treason, he was thrown into prison by order of Ibnu-l Ahmar, and was there put to death, A. H. 776. A. D. 1374: leaving behind him numerous proofs of his learning and talents.* In the list of his works (forty-one in number, some of them, consisting of many volumes), scarcely any topic in the useful or elegant arts is left untouched. Rhetoric and poetry, the art of love and of medicine, the veterinary art, political economy and history, alike exercised his prolific pen. His historical works are deservedly admired; and, according to the custom of the Arabs, they are distinguished by titles, which to the chastised ear of an European, sound not a little oddly. Thus, besides his *Universal Library*, of whose eleven parts (devoted to the biography of eminent Spanish-Arabian authors) five only remain, we have a *History of Granada*, intitled *A Specimen of the full Moon*; his *Chronology of the Khalifs and Kings of Africa and Spain*, has the lofty appellation of the *Silken Vest embroidered with the Needle*; his lives of eminent Spanish Arabs, who were celebrated for their learning and piety, are termed *Fragrant Plants*; a tract on *Constancy of Mind* is *Approved Butter*; and, to mention no more, a treatise on the choice of sentences, is designated *Pure Gold*.

Beside Ibnū-l-Khatib, many other persons wrote memoirs of men who were peculiarly distinguished for their virtues, talents, or brilliant achievements; and others, as Ebn Zaid Alarabi, of Cordova, and Abū-l-Monder, of Valencia, have seriously written the genealogy and history of celebrated horses, and Abū Zaid Abdulmalik, the history of illus-

* Casiri, Bibliotheca Arabico-Escorialensis, t. ii. p. 72. Antonii Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus, tom. ii. p. 407.

trious camels.* This last-mentioned author, who was eminently versed in Arabian antiquities and usages, has rendered to his countrymen the same service which Moreri has bestowed on Europeans, by giving them a copious historical dictionary. Abdulmalik died in the 215th year of the Hijra (A. D. 830) during the reign of the Khalif Al-Māmūn, by whom he was greatly esteemed.† The Arabians also possessed geographical dictionaries, compiled with the greatest accuracy, critical and bibliographical dictionaries, and, in short, books of reference of every description, which facilitate labour, while they promote the researches of the curious. Numismatics‡ and Chronology§ were not neglected by them. Each art and science had its respective historian: Al-Assaker wrote a history of the first inventors of the arts, a work (says Casiri) of great utility, and not unworthy the attention of any literary man.¶ In common with the other sciences, Medicine and Philosophy also had their respective historians, all of which were condensed in the Encyclopædia, or Historical Dictionary of the Sciences of Muhammad-Abū-Abdallah, of Granada.¶

In the theory and practice of Geography, the Arabians eminently excelled: and the Sharīf Al-Idrīsī, who made the celebrated silver globe** for Roger II. King of Sicily, is justly celebrated for his

* Casiri, tom. ii. p. 157. col. 1. † Ibid, p. 29. col. i.

‡ A valuable MS. of Al-Makrizi is extant in the Escorial Library (Casiri, tom. ii. p. 178) on the *History of the Arabian Money*, whence it was published in Latin and Arabic, by Professor Tychem, at Rostock, 1797, 8vo. A French version also was published at Paris, an 5 (1797), in 8vo. by M. Sacy. Al-Makrizi likewise wrote a *Treatise on the Legal Weights and Measures of the Arabians*, of which Sacy printed a French translation in 8vo. Paris, an 7 (1799); and Tychem, a Latin version at Rostock, in 1800, 8vo. with some additional various readings to the *History of Arabian Money*. For further particulars relative to these, and to almost every other work extant, relative to the Arabians, the reader will consult M. Schnurrer's *Bibliotheca Arabica*, Halæ ad Salam, 1811, 8vo, which contains a treasure of Arabian Literature and Bibliography.

§ Casiri, tom. ii. p. 155. col. i.

¶ Casiri, tom. ii. p. 171. col. 2.

¶ This elaborate work consisted of eleven parts, of which a fragment of the seventh, together with the four last parts, is all that is extant. Casiri has given an account of the author, and a copious abstract of his very learned work, with its supplement, tom. ii. pp. 71—121.

** The library at Cairo could boast of two massive globes, one of which was of brass, and had

Geographical Amusements, which he wrote and dedicated to that monarch; of this, however, only an abridgment, by an anonymous author, is unfortunately extant in print.* The geographical knowledge of the Arabians was further extended by the voyages made by their most learned men, for the express purpose of acquiring and diffusing knowledge: Casiri has described not less than eighteen voyages or itineraries of illustrious Spanish Arabs, who travelled for this purpose. One of these, Ben Raschid Ben Ahmed Al-Nauschrissi, travelled through Africa, Egypt, and Syria, in the 673d year of the Hijra, for the purpose of hearing and conversing with the most eminent literati of those countries: in his *Itinerary* he has not only described the different places visited by him, but has also mentioned the most celebrated libraries and academies, and has further given some notices relative to the lives and writings of the learned men with whom he associated.†

The science of Statistics did not escape the attention of a people, so acute and discerning as the Arabs were: accordingly we find, that, with the spirit of conquest, was combined a spirit of inquiry into the resources of the countries which yielded to their almost resistless arms. Although none of their writings on political economy have come down to our times (as far at least as our researches have enabled us to ascertain), yet that this science was familiar to some of the celebrated warriors who ruled in Spain, is a fact attested by undoubted authority. Among these, Assamhu-bn Mālik Alkhaulāny, (by modern writers miscalled El-zemagh) the third Viceroy of that country, is pre-eminently conspicuous.‡

been constructed by the celebrated cosmographer, Ptolemy; the other was of massive silver, weighing three thousand drachmæ, and is said to have cost as many thousand golden crowns. It was made by Abilhassan Alsūfi, for the Sultan Adadhaldaulat. Casiri, tom. i. p. 417. col. 2.

* The principal geographical MSS. in the Escorial Library are described by Casiri, tom. ii. pp. 1—13. Idrīsī was a native of Septa, in Africa, of noble descent, who studied and wrote at Cordova. His entire work is extant in MS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; the principal editions of the Anonymous Abridgment of it are described by Schnurrer, *Biblioth. Arab.* pp. 167—172, and the Spanish Translation of his Description of Spain, with the Arabic text, in p. 173.

† Casiri. tom. ii. p. 151. col. 2.

‡ See the transactions of his government briefly noticed, *supra*, p. 75.

The whole wisdom of the east, so far as it respects the improvements of productive industry, seems to have been present to his capacious mind. He had made himself acquainted with the various modes of agriculture practised with the most success, and particularly with the system of irrigation to which Assyria and other Eastern countries were indebted for their astonishing fertility: and the various manufactures carried on in those countries, were equally familiar to this great statesman. On his arrival in Spain, in order to transport these and other improvements thither, with the most advantage, he composed a statistical account of the country, the result of an actual survey, for the information of the Khalif Omar. In this work he described not only the different provinces and cities, together with their respective rivers, ports, and harbours; but also examined and stated the climate of Spain, the various nature of its soils, its mountains, plants, and minerals, and the manner in which the different productions they afforded might be reared or extracted, and applied to the greatest advantage. As-samh further prepared an exact account of the imposts which that country paid to the Khalifs. A friend also to the fine arts, he embellished Cordova, the seat of his government, and invited learned men to his court. This consummate general and politician perished in Gaul, in a battle in which he was opposed by Eudes, Duke of Aquitaine, A. H. 103.—A. D. 720 or 721.*

Although the Arabians cultivated polite literature with the greatest attention, they were not the less ardent in the study of philosophy, the mathematics, and all the other exact sciences. These, indeed, they derived chiefly from the Greeks, and by the aid of translations from the Greek writers, they made no inconsiderable progress in the study of philosophy. Among the most eminent of its professors, the following are particularly distinguished, Averroes of Cordova, who died A. D. 1198, the great commentator on Aristotle; Avicenna (Ebn Sina), who died A. D. 1037, and was equally celebrated as a profound philosopher and skilful physician; Al-Farābi, who died A. D. 950: he spoke seventy languages, wrote on all the sciences, and collected them into an

* Casiri, t. ii. p. 137. col. 2. Cardonne, tom. i. pp. 116, 118.

encyclopædia ; Al-Gazali, who applied philosophy to the study of theology, and died A. D. 1343 ; Ebn Tufail, the author of the celebrated and agreeable moral fiction of Hai Ebn Yokdhan, or the self-taught philosopher, who, being supposed to have been cast on a desert island while an infant, is made by various incidents (some possible, but all ingenious) to ascend gradually, as he grew up in solitude, to the sublime of all philosophy,—natural, moral, and divine ; and Alkindi, who flourished in the Khilāfat of Al-Māmūn, in the beginning of the ninth century. He studied philosophy at Bassora, his native city, and acquired so much celebrity, both among his contemporaries and also in subsequent ages, that the loftiest titles were bestowed upon him. He was called the phoenix of his age, the philosopher of the Arabians, the great astrologer, the learned physician, the root and foundation of the Arabic sciences, in his time ; and Cardan ranks him among the first twelve sublime spirits of the world. Though some, at least, of these encomiastic appellations are extravagant, Alkindi was endowed with rare talents, and the catalogue of his works, not less than two hundred in number, shews that he was versed in all the learning of the Greeks, Persians, and Indians, in all the branches of philosophy, and the mathematics. In philosophy he was a follower of Aristotle, and in the schools interpreted and illustrated his writings.*

* Of all the Arabian philosophers above-mentioned, Casiri has given interesting memoirs from Arabian sources. Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Philos.* vol. iii. pp. 1-240, has given a copious account of the Saracenic philosophers and their notions, from whom Dr. Enfield has abridged his elegant narrative, *Hist. of Philos.* vol. ii. pp. 224-265. Among the treatises of Alkindi, was one recommending the study of philosophy, and another to shew that it was in vain for any one to indulge the hope of acquiring it without the study of the mathematics. The following anecdote, recorded of him by Abū'l Faragius, is too honourable to his character to be omitted. Alkindi having, in the course of his instructions at Baghdad, endeavoured to explain the doctrines of Muhammad in a sense consistent with the principles of philosophy, gave great offence to Abū-Maashar, an ignorant and bigoted advocate for the vulgar interpretation of the Korān ; who, with strong expressions of indignation, accused him to the Khalif of impiety. Instead of employing his interest with the Khalif, in forcibly restraining the angry petulance and malignity of this angry zealot, Al-Kindi generously attempted to subdue his resentment, by enlightening his understanding. Well knowing the power of wisdom to meliorate the temper, he found means to engage a preceptor to instruct

But the Arabian literati did not confine their attention to those studies merely, which they could prosecute in the closet; they undertook long and laborious voyages, for the acquisition and diffusion of knowledge; they frequently were the counsellors of princes, and in consequence were often involved in those violent and almost uniformly cruel revolutions, which too often occurred in the east, and latterly in Spain: their private history, therefore, is more varied, more eventful, and more romantic, than that of the philosophers and learned men of every other nation.*

Of all the sciences cultivated by the Arabs, philosophy is that which spread most rapidly in the west, and which had the greatest influence on the European schools; but it is also that in which their progress, though confessedly considerable, was more specious than real. Their ardour, however, was ill-directed, and instead of the dreary waste in which they chose to expatiate, they might have visited regions teeming with flowers and fruits. More ingenious than profound,—more desirous of astonishing than of instructing,—they postponed the important science of ethics to logic, and sacrificed it to metaphysics. Hence, though they were neither unacquainted with Plato, nor insensible to the merits of his works, which they highly applauded, Aristotle became their exclusive favourite, and received from them an intellectual homage, that was almost divine. It was, indeed, barely possible that they should relish Plato, whose beauties were impervious to all eyes that were not familiarized to the poetry, history, and mythology of Greece: but the naked sense of the Peripatetic met their ideas more directly; his dialectics were admirable aids to argumentation; his metaphysics were calculated to exercise a keen and vigorous intellect; and even in his physics, whether considered as a history or as a system of nature, they found nothing repugnant to their prejudices, or their theological creed.

him first in mathematics, and afterwards in philosophy. The ferocity of the zealot was subdued: and Abū-Maashar, ashamed of his folly, and convinced of the superior merit of the man whom he had persecuted, became his convert and disciple, and was an ornament to his school. Abū'l Faragius, Dyn. IX. Enfield, vol. ii. p. 238.

* Sismondi, t. i. p. 68.

Further, when in progress of time heresies and schisms increased, and alarmed the faithful, his influence became still more widely extended: and his assistance, whether in attack or defence, was acknowledged and applied by all parties. His ascendancy was paramount and universal; and, in the opinion of the Arabians, philosophy was only to be found in his writings, by which alone metaphysics could be explained. An accurate version, or a subtle explanation of some work of the Stagyrice, appeared to be the highest possible degree to which the genius of the philosophers could attain; and with this view, they read, explained and compared, all the commentaries of the first disciples of Aristotle: but what is most singular, is, that with all their subtlety, with all their study, with so many aids, and after so many years of painful application, the Arabian sages could never fully comprehend, nor explain with precision, the very books which formed the subject of all their labours. Aristotle was misunderstood, and sometimes grossly, by all of them: even Averroes, who is allowed to have been one of his most successful commentators and translators, has frequently no connexion with his original.*

* Andres, tom. ii. pp. 40-45. Introd. to Lit. Hist. of 14th and 15th Cent. pp. 98-99.

SECTION II.

ON THE SCIENCES CULTIVATED BY THE ARABIANS.

The natural Sciences cultivated—Botany—Medicine—Pharmacy—Anatomy and Chirurgery—Chemistry—Alchemy—The Mathematical Sciences—Arithmetic—Algebra—Geometry—Trigonometry—Astronomy—Astronomical Observations made by the Arabians—Astrology—Geomancy—Optics—Mechanics—Hydrostatics—Jurisprudence—and Theology.

THE natural sciences were cultivated by the Arabians with great success, and with a more just appreciation of the steps necessary to be taken, in order to acquire them. Ibn Khadi Schiaba, Abū Othman, and some others, wrote on the natural history of animals; Abilrihan Albiruni (who died A. D. 941) travelled through India for the space of forty years, to observe the nature and properties of things; and has given the result of his observations in a rare and exceedingly valuable treatise on precious stones.*

The knowledge of botany was considerably advanced beyond the state in which it had been left by Dioscorides. Razes, Ali Ben Al Abbas, and Avicenna, respectively applied themselves to the study of this elegant and useful science; but the most distinguished of all the Arabian botanists was Ibn al Beithar, a native of Malaga, who has not inaptly been termed the Tournefort of the Arabs. In his zeal for the acquisition of botanical information, he travelled over every part of Europe, Africa, and Asia, inspected and *touched* every thing that was rare, curious, or valuable, in the three kingdoms of nature; and returned home, enriched with the spoils of the east and west. He published

* Casiri, tom. i. p. 326, col. 1, 2.

three books,—on the nature and virtues of plants—on metals and minerals—and on animals; he died A. D. 1248, at Damascus, having been elevated to the dignity of Vizir by the then sovereign of that city.*

The healing art was cultivated with the greatest attention, and continued to flourish from the time of Hārūn Arrashīd. The names of Baktishua, and his son Gabriel, of Avicenna, of Mohammed Al-Rasi, better known by the appellation of Razes, of John Ebn Mesue, and his pupil Honain, are all eminently celebrated for their skill in medicine. Ebn Mesue, though a Christian, was highly honoured and trusted by the above-mentioned Khalif, to whose person he was greatly attached: he composed numerous works, many he translated from the Greek, and was the first professor in the celebrated school of Baghdad, which in after times produced so many eminently learned men. Though indebted to the Greeks for much of their medical knowledge, the Arabians did not servilely follow their masters in every respect, but greatly improved several branches of this science. To them we owe the first application of chemistry to medicine, though it is not clear who was the real author of this valuable association, some ascribing it to Avicenna, while others attribute it to Razes. The value and extent of the medical discoveries of the Arabians have been as much depreciated by some writers, as they have been exaggerated by others: it must, however, be allowed, that they improved the knowledge of symptoms, and from them we have derived the first method of treating the small-pox and measles, the abscess of the mediastinum, and difficulty of deglutition. Their most material improvement in the healing art, was the introduction of lenitive medicines, in the place of drastic purgatives, which had been too freely employed by the Greeks; and, notwithstanding the

* Casiri, tom. i. pp. 275-279. Casiri also mentions another eminent and adventurous botanist, Mohammed Ben Ali Ben Phara, a celebrated physician of Corella; who regarded no difficulties in his favourite pursuit of botanizing, and who collected specimens of every plant he saw. He was appointed curator of the botanical garden of the King Muhammad Abū Abdillāh Ben Nasr. Casiri, tom. i. p. 89, col. 1. A connected account of the Arabian writers on Botany may be seen in Haller's *Bibliotheca Botanica*, tom. i. pp. 171-212.

servility with which they followed the latter, the writings of Razes, Avicenna, and Averroës, it must be confessed, do contain many important observations, useful methods of treating diseases, and formulæ of new and valuable medicines.*

Pharmacy was an object of peculiar attention, and is greatly indebted to the persevering researches of Abdelmalek Ebn Zohr, a native of Seville, better known by the name of Avenzoar; who particularly applied himself to antidotes and electuaries, and who first introduced the bezoar to notice among the curative drugs, to which he gives an origin truly marvellous.† The Arabians have the credit of having set the first example of publishing pharmacopœias, or regular dispensatories, containing collections of authorized formulæ. The shops of the Arabian apothecaries were placed under the immediate superintendence of the magistrates; who took care that they should be provided with genuine drugs, and that these should be sold at a reasonable price. Many of the pharmaceutical terms still employed are of Arabian origin, as naphtha, camphor, syrup, julep, &c. &c.‡

In anatomy and chirurgery, the Arabians never obtained any remarkable proficiency: the theory and practice of their religion prohibited them from attempting dissections; and the polluting touch of the dead alarmed the most determined naturalists, who contented themselves with following the system of Galen. Khalaf-Ben-Abbas Abūlcassem, or Al-Zaharavi, better known by the name of Abūlcasis, is the most eminent of the Arabian surgeons. He was a native of Cordova (where he died in the year of the Hijra 500), and practised the two sciences of medicine and chirurgery with distinguished success. He has treated of the various instruments proper for performing chirurgical operations,

* Andres, tom. ii. pp. 55-62. Freind Hist. of Medicine, vol. ii. pp. 70, &c. Haller has given a detailed account of the principal Arabian writers on Medicine, in his Bibliotheca Medicinæ, tom. i. pp. 333-422.

† Casiri, tom. ii. p. 132, col. 2. Avenzoar describes the bezoar as generated from the tears, or gum, of the eyes of stags; who, after eating serpents, were accustomed to run into the water up to the nose, where they stood till a humour began to ooze from their eyes; which, collecting under the eye-lids, gradually thickened and coagulated, and, when it became quite hard, was thrown off by the animal rubbing itself against the trees!

‡ Rees's Cyclopædia, art. *Medicine*. Beckmann's Hist. of Inventions, vol. ii. p. 127.

and has described the *moxa*, a remedy employed in the east for the cure of the gout, under the appellation of the Arabian burning. This author has further written in detail on the various tumours incident to the human body, and has pointed out their proper treatment. The reader is startled while he peruses an account of the bold chirurgical operations, attempted at that time.*

The praise of originality, however, is justly due to the Arabs for their discoveries in the science of chemistry, of which they may be considered as the inventors. In the east, we know that some attempts had been made, from the earliest periods, in the refining of metals, the communication of brilliant colours to woollen stuffs, the preparation of essences and perfumes, and the tanning of leather ; but no collection of scientific observations or facts had been embodied, or transmitted in such a form, as to prove beneficial to the useful arts. Struck with the result of some investigations, the Arabians first applied themselves to chemistry as a regular study ; under their hands, a rapid and correct analysis, together with a skilful and ready decomposition, performed by instruments of the happiest contrivance, mark them as masters of this important science. They addicted themselves to it with unwearied assiduity : new discoveries were daily made by the numerous experiments, instituted and conducted by Geber, Mesue, Razes, and others of the most eminent physicians, who left behind them a great accumulation of most valuable knowledge. By them, great improvements were made in the mode of conducting processes, particularly distillations : the three mineral acids were discovered ; the vegetable and mineral alkalies were distinguished from each other ; the preparation of alcohol was made known ; and, though the Arabs in all probability derived their knowledge of gunpowder from the Indians, yet they improved its preparation, and found out different ways of employing it in war.† The

* Casiri, tom. ii. p. 137, col. 1. Roujoux, Révolutions des Sciences, &c. tom. ii. p. 7. Sir W. Temple has an interesting essay on the cure of the gout by *moxa*. Works, vol. iii. pp. 238-265. 8vo. edit.

† Beckmann's Hist. of Inventions, vol. iv. p. 572, 573. The whole of the paper on salt-petre, &c. in that volume is highly curious, and contains many incidental illustrations of the history of Arabian chemistry.

early nomenclature of chemistry demonstrates how much it owes to the Arabians: the words, alcohol, alembic, alkahest, alkali, aludel—to mention no more—require no comment; nor should it be forgotten, that those characters of drugs, essences, extracts, and medicines, which are frequently to be found in the apothecaries' shops, and which to vulgar eyes appear vested with occult powers of healing,—are all derived from the Arabians.

Their chemical knowledge, however, was often misapplied and perverted: the endless search after the philosopher's stone, or the production of a substance capable of converting all other metals into gold, occupied and disgraced, while it eluded, the chemist's labours. Nor had the transmutation of metals alone its aspirants: the elixir of life, the dream of an immortal existence upon earth,—the repulsion of evil, and the attainment of good,—these, and numerous other magical fooleries, may fairly be charged on the abuse of chemistry. For many centuries, the visionary study of alchemy continued to be ardently followed: it was, however attended with this incidental advantage, that a considerable dexterity of operating was acquired, and many new substances were discovered; which, without some such strong incentive, would perhaps, have remained much longer in obscurity.

Brucker has asserted, that the Arabians were indebted to the Greeks for their mathematical knowledge; and that this science made no progress whatever in their hands.* Mathematicians of later times, however, have done ample justice to their researches in this most important of all the departments of science;† and, in reviewing the principal branches of mathematical learning, we shall find occasion to admire their genius in invention, or their address in improvement.

Their arithmetic they acknowledge to have received from the Indians, and many of their treatises on this subject are intitled, “the art of computing according to the Indians,” “Indian arithmetic,” &c. Nevertheless, they have the merit of having perceived, adopted, and developed all the advantages of that ingenious system of numeration;

* Hist. Crit. Phil. tom. iii. p. 155.

† See particularly Montucla, Hist. de Mathématiques, vol. i. p. 362, et seq.

and to the persevering industry of Gerbert (afterwards Pope Sylvester II.), western Europe is indebted for the knowledge and use of figures.

By whom the science of algebra was invented, is a question yet undecided: it appears to have been not wholly unknown to the ancient mathematicians, who flourished long before the time of Diophantus, its reputed discoverer; and traces of it are to be found in Theon's commentary upon Euclid, who observes that Plato had begun to teach it, and also in the writings of Pappus, Archimedes, and Apollonius. The oldest treatise extant is that of Diophantus, to whom the Arabians acknowledge themselves indebted for this science; * and whose writings were early translated and circulated among them. By this author, algebra was confined to a single class of questions relative to square and cube numbers, and other curious properties of numbers, with their solutions: the Arabians extended its application, and generalized its use; and, in estimating their merits, it might perhaps be determined, that their advances on the original are, at least, as conspicuous as the improvements which have been suggested, and the progress which has been made, by later, and even by modern proficients. Thebit-Ben Corrah, and Mohammed Ben Mūsa, are the most ancient Arabian mathematicians who have treated on this science: the former wrote on the certainty of the demonstrations of the algebraic calculus, and the latter is reputed to be the inventor of the solution of equations of the second degree, and first communicated the knowledge of algebra to the Arabians.† Their progress in this abstruse branch of pure mathematics is further evinced by the treatise of Omar-Ben-Ibrahim, on the algebra of cubic equations, which is still extant in MS. in the University Library of Leyden. Even the muse disdained not to sing the wonders, and to deliver the first principles of the science, in verse: and in the library of the Escorial there is preserved a poem on this subject by Mohammed Ben Alcassem, a native of Granada.‡

* Casiri, tom. i. p. 370, col. 2.

† Casiri, tom. i. p. 371, col. 1. p. . In the same volume, pp. 386-389, he has given an interesting account of the life and writings of Thebit, both mathematical and philosophical.

‡ Casiri, tom. i. p. 370, col. 1.

In Geometry, the pretensions of the Arabians, though not equally striking, are nevertheless highly respectable: under the reign of the Khalif Almāmūn, the works of the most eminent Greek geometricians were translated into their language, particularly Euclid, Theodosius, Hypsicles, Menelaus,* and the four first books of Apollonius; and, some years after, Thebit Ben Corrah enriched the science of his country with versions of Archimedes and the Conics of Apollonius. Many eminent geometricians arose among the Arabians, who explained and commented upon the works of their Grecian masters with great ability: but they do not appear to have left behind them any treatises of importance; and this branch of mathematical science is said to have been revived, in the fifteenth century, nearly in the state in which it had been left by Euclid. How highly mathematical science was valued by Almāmūn, we may conceive from his liberal but fruitless offers to engage in his service the celebrated mathematician Leo, afterwards archbishop of Thessalonica. The Khalif having been apprised of his singular talents, first wrote him a letter, full of expressions of esteem and friendship: as this, however, produced no effect on the philosopher, and the Emperor Theophilus being apprised also of his extraordinary qualities, retained Leo in his own service, Almāmūn sent an ambassador to the Greek emperor, offering him one hundred pounds weight of gold to induce him to grant Leo permission to travel through Egypt, and promising to send him back at no long time afterwards. But all these efforts on the part of the Khalif were unsuccessful.†

Trigonometry, however, is under peculiar obligations to the Arabians, who imparted to it that form which it still retains: they substituted

* Casiri, tom. i. p. 345, col. 1.

† Cedreni Compendium, tom. ii. p. 431 (edit. Venet. 1729.) The Greek Emperor, more convinced than ever of the merit of Leo, retained him in his service by accumulating upon him both honours and favours, and ultimately raised him to the hierarchy of Thessalonica, in order to fix his residence in the empire. It is but just to the memory of Leo, to state, that he devoted his whole time and influence in causing the sciences and fine arts to re-flourish at Constantinople, where he established schools for the mathematics; and that, notwithstanding the important affairs, which retained him at the court of Theophilus, he continued to give public lectures, until he was raised to the episcopal dignity. Ibid. pp. 431 432.

the use of sines for that of the chord which had laboriously been employed by the ancients. These improvements are, by Montucla, ascribed to Mohammed Ben Mūsa, who composed a work on spherical trigonometry, and to Mohammed Giaber Ben Aflah, a native of Seville, whose treatise on the sphere, is extant in the library of the Escorial.* Alkindi, for his various and profound attainments, surnamed “the philosopher,” wrote a treatise *De sex Quantitatibus*, and translated the work of Autolycus *De Sphærâ motâ*. Mohammed Al-Baghdadi left a very elegant treatise on land surveying, which is strongly suspected to be only a copy of a lost treatise of Euclid’s on that subject.

From the scriptures we learn that astronomy was cultivated by the Arabians at a very early period; † and we know, generally, that their acquaintance with the stars was such, as enabled them to foretel the changes of the weather, and was obtained, not from any regular study or astronomical rules, but from long and patient observation. The Arabians, as well as the Indians, applied themselves to observe the fixed stars, contrary to the practice of other nations, whose observations were almost exclusively confined to the planets; and they foretold their effects from their influences, not from their nature. They do not appear to have made much further progress in astronomy, which they afterwards cultivated with so much success, than to observe the influence of the stars upon the weather, and to give them names,—a science more obvious and natural to them, who led a pastoral life, passing both night and day in the open plains. The names which they bestowed on the stars, generally alluded to cattle and flocks; and so minute were they in distinguishing them, that no language has so many names of stars and asterisms as the Arabic. But the reign of the Khalif Almāmūn was the most flourishing period of Arabian astronomy: himself devoted to the study of this science, he ordered a translation to be made of the works of Ptolemy, and caused a complete digest of astronomy to be composed by eminent men. Having obtained proper instruments, he made many accurate observations; and, among others determined the

* Montucla, Hist. de Math. tom. i. P. 2, liv. 1, pp. 372-373. Casiri, tom. i. p. 345, col. 1.

† Job, ch. ix. v. 9, and xxxviii. v. 31.

obliquity of the ecliptic to be $23^{\circ}33'$ (in some MSS. it is said to be $23^{\circ}35'$). Under his auspices, also, a degree of the meridian was measured a second time, in the plain of Sinjar, on the borders of the Red Sea.

Among the Arabian astronomers, who particularly distinguished themselves by their accurate observations, were Mohammed Ben Mūsa, already noticed, who drew up some astronomical tables; Abdallah-Ibn-Sahal, Jahia-Ibn-Abi-Mansur,* also the author of some astronomical tables; Albumasar, who wrote an introduction to astronomy, a treatise on the conjunction of the planets, and another on the origin, duration, and end of the world; Abdallah-Ebn-Masrūr, a pupil of Albumasar's;† Alfraganus, or Al-Fergani, who composed a classical work, intituled "Elements of Astronomy," which presents a concise exposition of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, and was likewise the author of a treatise on solar clocks, and on the astrolabe. Albategni is another Arabian, whose laborious researches conferred the highest services on astronomy. He gave a new and improved theory of the sun, from which he derived results that are much valued for their accuracy; and above all, as they directly confirm the diminution of the eccentricity of the solar orbit, which has since been demonstrated by the theory of gravity, and the secular equation of the moon. He supplied the defects of the Ptolemean tables by the construction of new astronomical tables; and his work on "The Science of the Stars," which is still extant, long held a very high place among the treatises on this science. Thebit-Ben-Corrah, already mentioned, observed the declination of the ecliptic, distinguished the motion of the apogee of the sun and planets, from that of the stars in longitude, and, what is most important of all, ascertained that the solar revolution was completed in 365 days, six hours, nine minutes, and twelve seconds of time, which calculation exactly corresponds with that now in use. In later times, Arzachel, or Arzakel, the reputed author of the *Toledan Tables*, who flourished about the year 1080, and Alhazen, who lived in the early part of the twelfth century, conferred great benefits on astronomy; the latter, as being the first who discovered the importance of the theory of refractions in that science; and the former,

* Casiri, tom. i. p. 425, col. 1, 2, and p. 364, col. 2.

† Ibid. 403, col. 1, 2.

by his hypothesis, to account for the diminution of the sun's eccentricity, which to him appeared to have taken place since the time of Ptolemy, and the motion of the sun's apogee. This hypothesis of Arzachel's consisted in making the centre of the circle, described by the sun, move within another small circle, by means of which the centre of the orbit might periodically approach to, and retire from, the earth. His idea, for thus explaining the inequalities which he thought he perceived in the sun, was adopted by Copernicus, and subsequently applied to the moon by Horoccus, Newton, Flamsteed, and Halley.* Modern astronomy certainly is indebted to the Arabians for the introduction of observatories: and the Girada, or lofty tower, appended to the cathedral of Seville as a *belfry*, was originally an OBSERVATORY, erected A. H. 593—A. D. 1196, by the celebrated mathematician Geber.† In appending this structure to the mosque, he probably had in view, and might designedly imitate the institutions of the ancient Sabæans; who, uniting the profession of astronomy with the priestly office, placed their observatories contiguous to their temples; in order that they might the more conveniently pass from the contemplation of the celestial bodies to the altar, and from the adoration of the host of heaven, to the worship of Him, who called them into existence.

Astrology seems to have been cultivated with the same zeal as astronomy: among the Arabians, as in other eastern nations, the truths of science could be recommended only by ignorance and folly; and the astronomer would have been disregarded, had he not debased his honesty by the vain predictions of astrology. Its professors were seen in the courts, and consulted in the cabinets of princes: and no public or even private enterprise of moment was undertaken, without previously consulting the stars.‡ The arts of divination by arrows,§ of geomancy,

* Lalande, *Astronomie*, tom. i. pp. 120-127. † See a brief notice of this structure, *supra* p. 204.

‡ Casiri has given the titles of some celebrated astrological works, *Bibl. Arabico-Escorial*, t. i. pp. 362, 363, 371, col. 2, and 400, col. 1. Some anecdotes relative to Arabian astrologers, are related by Mr. Harris, *Philolog. Inquiries*, pp. 383-385.

§ This art was thus performed by the ancient Arabs: when any person was about to undertake an important enterprise, he put three arrows into a vessel, on one of which was written "*My God*

or divination by the casting of figures, of oneirocriticism,* or the interpretation of dreams, likewise had their respective professors.

With optics, antiquity was but little conversant: yet, though the schools of Baghdad and Cordova did not greatly extend this science, they nevertheless did not neglect its study. The works of Al Farabi, who flourished in the ninth, and of Ebn Haithem, who lived in the tenth century of the Christian æra, are lost: the only writer who treated on optics was Alhazen, who wrote in the 12th century, and whose work is well deserving of attention. The astronomical refraction known to the Greeks has been very clearly explained by him; and his labours have been a guide to subsequent writers. Vitellio, a native of Poland, illustrated Alhazen's optics in a treatise published A. D. 1270; and it is well known that our eminent philosopher, Roger Bacon, was indebted to the Arabians for the whole of his mathematical and philosophical knowledge.†

That the ancient Arabs had some knowledge of the mechanical arts, appears from Strabo; who relates that the people of Tamna had magnificent temples, and elegant houses erected in the Egyptian style.‡ Of their subsequent progress for many centuries we have no certain information: but, of their practical skill in mechanics during their dominion in Spain, the remains of Arabian Art still subsisting in the peninsula, afford abundant evidence; and the invention of the pendulum for the measurement of time is unquestionably due to the Arabs.§ Although they applied their mathematical knowledge to hydrostatical studies, yet no discovery of their's has been transmitted to us: the

hath commanded,"—on the other, "*My God hath forbidden*;" and on the third was *nothing*. If the *first* were drawn out, the individual prosecuted his design, which was abandoned if he drew out the second; and if the *third* came forth, he continued to draw on until one of the former was drawn. This circumstance, it may be incidentally observed, will explain the divination of the King of Babylon, who is said by the prophet Ezekiel to have "*made his arrows bright*," or to *have mingled them*, as the passage is rendered in the Vulgate Version.—Pococke's Specimen Hist. Arab. pp. 327—329.

* Casiri, tom. i. p. 363. col. 1. and p. 401. col. 2.

† Andres, tom. xi. pp. 17, 172. Beckmann's Hist. of Inventions, vol. iii. pp. 194—197.

‡ Lib. xvi. tom. ii. p. 1092. (ed. Oxon).

§ Transactions of the Royal Society, vol. xiv. p. 567. Andres, t. ii. p. 226, 227.

titles, however, of two works,* by the celebrated Al-kindi, mentioned in the Arabic library of philosophers, prove that the Arabians not only attended to the practical part of the science in forming their useful canals, but also that they devoted themselves to the theory of hydrostatics.

In concluding this sketch of Arabian literature and science, it only remains, that we notice their jurisprudence and theology, kindred studies, founded on one common source, the Korān, and which were not unfrequently pursued together. The heads of government, persons who were most distinguished by their rank, dignity, or opulence, respectively applied themselves to these sciences. The Khalif Hārūn Arrashīd was a pupil of the celebrated Asmai;† and Ebn Cossa was the preceptor of Almāmūn. The Korān being both the source of Mūsalmān theology, as well as the foundation of all laws, both civil and ecclesiastical, it was not uncommon for lawyers to write on theological questions: thus Asmai wrote a work, intituled, *The Principles of Scholastic Theology*. Al-Shafeī, or Al-Shafi, declared against the scholastics and was the founder of the existing sect of the Sonnites: he was the first who reduced the civil law of the Moslems into a science, in his work on the Principles of Islāmism, which discusses both the civil and the canon law of the Muhammadans.‡

The two leading sects, at present existing among the followers of the Arabian prophet, are the Shiites and the Sonnites, who are further divided into other sects or schools: of their tenets, Sale has given a detailed account;§ the Library of the Escorial comprises many works

* One of these treatises is, on *Bodies that float on water*; the other, on *Bodies that sink*. Casiri, tom. i. p. 356. col. 2.

† D'Herbelot, tom. i. p. 269.

‡ Ibid. tom. iii. p. 224. There was a celebrated Academy at Granada, instituted for the sole purpose of interpreting, reciting, and explaining the Korān. Its founder was Abdallah Ben Jahia Ben Abd Soliman Abū Al Cassem, better known by the name of Ebn Alrabi, an eminent philosopher and lawyer of his time: he presided over the schools of Munda, Ronda, Malaga, and Granada, and died A. H. 666. A. D. 1267. Casiri, tom. ii. p. 101. col. 1.

§ Sale's Korān, vol. i. pp. 201—237, 8vo. or pp. 158—178 of the 4to. edition.

treating on ascetic and mystic theology, while others contain monastic rules. The catalogue of Mūsalmān divines and jurists is so extensive, that the mere enumeration of their names would augment this portion of our work to an undue length : for particulars relative to their lives and writings, the reader is therefore referred to the elaborate publications of D'Herbelot and Casiri.*

* Casiri, tom. i. pp. 444—544, has a long and curious account of the writers on Mohammedan jurisprudence and theology, now extant in the library of the Escorial.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE ARTS, MANUFACTURES, AND COMMERCE OF THE ARABIANS.

SECTION I.

ON THE USEFUL ARTS, MANUFACTURES, AND COMMERCE OF THE ARABIANS.

Agriculture and Horticulture—Mines—Metallurgy—Manufactures—Potteries—Manufactures of Leather, Gunpowder, Sugar, and Paper—Ancient Commerce of the Arabians—Commerce of the Spanish Arabs—Money, Weights, and Measures used in Commerce.

THE fate of the Arts is inseparably connected with that of the Sciences and of Literature ; and where these are not fostered, the former never flourish. The preceding pages have shewn, with what avidity both letters, and the sciences were cultivated by the Arabians, particularly chemistry ; which science, while it gave them a deeper knowledge of the works of nature than had ever been possessed by the Greeks and Romans, also received from them very extensive and useful applications to all the necessary arts of life. Agriculture, in particular, was studied by them with that perfect knowledge of climate, soil, and the rearing of plants and cattle, which alone could enable them to embody in a scientific form the results of long and extensive practice. No civilized nation of Europe, Asia, or Africa, ancient or modern, ever possessed a code of rural laws, more wise, more just, or more perfect than the Spanish Arabs : nor has any country ever been raised to a higher degree of agricultural prosperity, than Moorish Spain, from the

wisdom of its laws, and the intelligence and activity of its inhabitants. The kingdom of Granada flourished pre-eminently. Abdurrahmān III. the greatest of all the western Khalifs, derived part of his immense revenues from the imposts levied on the productions of the soil, and was possessed of all the most valuable and beautiful districts in Spain. Within his dominions were reckoned eighty principal cities, three hundred of an inferior class, and an immense number of smaller towns and villages. Cordova contained within its walls two hundred thousand houses, occupied by as many distinct families, and nine hundred public baths. How reversed is this picture of opulence and industry, since the expulsion of the Moors! The cause of this is obvious.—The Moors, when they conquered the Spaniards, persecuted not the vanquished: the Spaniards, on the contrary, when they subdued the Moors, not only persecuted, but expelled them. This unprincipled conduct brought its own punishment: the deficiency of the Moors was so severely felt, that farmers and artisans were invited from foreign countries, in the reign of Philip IV. A. D. 1623, to settle in Spain. But this scheme proved ineffectual; and the continual wars, which have since engaged the attention of the Spanish government, while they exhausted its treasures, have prevented the ideas of re-peopling that country, and restoring its agriculture, from being realized.*

From the narratives of modern travellers in Spain, we learn that numerous vestiges of Arabian agriculture are still to be met with in the peninsula.† From these, and from an Arabic treatise still preserved in the library of the Escorial, we may form some idea of the attention bestowed by the Spanish Arabs on this most important part of rural economy. From the latter especially it appears, that they were well acquainted with the nature and properties of soils, and the proper adaptation of crops to them; the nature and different kinds of manures, and the application of these to particular species of trees, plants, &c. distinguishing the beneficial from the noxious; their manure was carefully

* Campomanes, *Educacion Popular*, Part III. tom. iii. p. xxix.

† See particularly Jacob's *Travels in the South of Spain*, pp. 147, 151, 152, 244, 250, 251, 275, 276, 299—301.

preserved in pits, that none of the salts might be lost, and was liberally spread over their fields. Irrigation was sedulously attended to: and the streams, which descended from the mountains were diverted into thousands of channels to fertilize the soil. The formation of gardens, arrangement of plants, and choice of soil, adapted to each, were also studied with great care: and the Spaniards are indebted to the Moors for the introduction of rice, the sugar cane,* the cotton tree, saffron, spinach,† and that infinite variety of fine fruits, which are now considered as almost indigenous in the peninsula, whence the use and culture of many of them have gradually been dispersed throughout Europe.‡ That this general eulogy on the agriculture of the Arabians in Spain is not exaggerated, will readily appear from the following view of its operations:

In the cultivation of their lands, the Spanish Arabs at first followed the system of Kutsami, author of the Nabathæan agriculture, and afterwards availed themselves of the instructions contained in the works of Abū Omar, Ebn Hajai, Rasis, Abū Abdallāh, and others, especially Abū Zacharia.§ If we examine all the various productions, which the

* M. La Borde has cited several ancient papers, which fully prove, that the Spaniards are indebted to the Arabians for the culture of the sugar-cane, and the manufacture of sugar, which they have so successfully introduced into America. *Voyage Pittoresque et Historique de l'Espagne*, tom. ii. p. xli.

† Beckmann's *Hist. of Inventions*, vol. i. p. 284, and vol. iv. p. 264.

‡ Jacob's *Travels in Spain*, p. 276. Their grain was separated from the straw by the treading of oxen, a practice retained in Spain to this day. It does not, however, appear, that they cultivated grain to any great extent; as their religion forbade them to sell their superfluous corn to the surrounding nations. In years of abundance it was deposited in the caverns of rocks, lined with straw, the mouths of which were covered with the same material, where it was preserved for a long succession of years. On the birth of every child, a cavern was filled with corn, which was destined to be his portion when he arrived at years of maturity. *Ibid.* pp. 151, 276.

§ Casiri (tom. i. pp. 323—338) has given a copious and interesting analysis of the *Treatise on Agriculture*, by Abū Zacharia Jahia Ben Mohamad Ben Ahmad, a native of Seville: of this elaborate work Casiri promised a Latin translation, which, unfortunately, he lived not to execute. In the curious list of fruits and vegetables, he mentions a singular mode of raising asparagus, as well as a remarkable property possessed by that vegetable; the novelty of which may perhaps admit of their insertion here. If, says he, a stalk of asparagus be smeared with honey, and after being

Arabs have left us, we shall find that every soil was appropriated to that species of culture which was best adapted to it. Thus, at Elchar, a town in the kingdom of Valencia, the traveller might fancy himself transported into Africa, on finding himself in the midst of groves of palm-trees, planted not in an ornamental order, but confusedly for the convenience of the inhabitants, who have a regular date-harvest; they also gather a considerable quantity of the branches, which are used at the festival of Palm Sunday. The culture of rice is conducted in the highest perfection in the same kingdom, particularly in the marshy grounds near Albufera; and, although the Valencians have slightly deviated from the instructions given them by Abū Zacharia, the culture of that vegetable forms the principal riches of the country, and is in no respect inferior to that of silk. For these beautiful productions, they are indebted to the Arabians. On the lands at Oliva and Gandia, especially those bordering on the Mediterranean, sugar-canes and cotton were raised; while the Axaraf of Seville, and by far the greatest part of Andalusia were planted with olive trees, and those of Xeres, Granada, and Malaga, were covered with vines.

The Arabians were eminently skilled in the art of irrigating the soil; and likewise were the inventors of an instrument termed a *Marhifal*, for the purpose of levelling the grounds. In the vicinity of the village of Moncada, in the kingdom of Valencia, there are still existing not only the ditches and conduits levelled with the astrolabe, but also the very same order and method which were formerly established for irrigation. The cultivator knows, to this day, the exact time when the water will reach his field, the quantity necessary for watering it, and the time it must remain on his ground: and fails not to open and shut the flood-gates, which serve as a barrier to the waters. The slightest

sprinkled with oak ashes, be committed to the ground, it will produce many stems, particularly white ones, of considerable thickness, and sometimes party-coloured towards the top. The Arabian author adds, that the pulverized root of the asparagus, mixed with oil, if rubbed into meat either already tainted, or almost corrupted (provided this be previously washed) will totally remove the foetor. Casiri, tom. i. p. 337. A Spanish translation of Abū Zacharia's work appeared at Madrid, by Banquieri, in 2 vols. folio, 1802, which we have not seen.

negligence on his part would expose him to a fine, that would be levied upon him by a court, from whose decision no appeal lies ; and which is composed of the principal persons concerned in this irrigation, who hold their sittings every Sunday at the church-door : like the Cadis among the Arabians, this court hears complaints verbally, and pronounces its definitive sentence on the spot.

But the active industry of the Arabians did not confine itself to the kingdom of Valencia, in order to draw off the waters from the rivers, and thence to form conduits and reservoirs. Within the last fifty years, canals have been discovered in the district of Orxiva, a town in the kingdom of Granada, which conducted water to fertilize the plain ; and the reports made at that time, prove, that the Spanish Arabs excavated the rocks, in order to form a conduit nine hundred feet in length, by six feet in height, and five broad. By them also were erected the aqueducts of Carmona, which conduct water to a distance of more than four leagues ; and which, by means of large arches of brick and mortar, abut on the gate of Seville, whence the water is distributed over that great city through various pipes.

The agriculture of the Arabs being carried to the high degree of perfection announced by the above-cited work of Abū Zacharia, the wonderful accounts given us by historians, relative to the fertility of the country, and the opulence of the towns, will no longer appear extraordinary. On perusing the narrative of the division made by King Ferdinand at Seville, in 1253, we shall find millions of olive trees planted in that province, without reckoning the fig and other fruit trees. The plain of Granada, irrigated by five rivers, whose waters divide themselves into a thousand channels, forms a garden nearly thirty leagues in extent, and entirely covered with orange and pomegranate trees, vines, and fruit trees. How charming must it have appeared, during the reigns of the Kings of Granada, when it contained upwards of one hundred and thirty mills, an infinite number of embattled towers, and more than three hundred pleasure houses ! In the time of the Arabs the banks of the Guadalquivir presented more than twelve thousand villages or small towns, and its environs might be compared

to the Arrizafa of Cordova, and to the Generalife of Granada, both for the variety of their fruits, and the beauty of their flowers.*

Nor were the Arabs less attentive to ornamental gardening: while they reared the most delicate fruits for the gratification of the palate, they laid out their gardens in such a style as to delight both the eye and the smell. Water was every where conveyed in rich abundance, to cool the temperature of the air. The garden, attached to the mosque at Cordova,† and that belonging to the Alhamrā, though neglected, still present a favourable idea of the horticultural skill of the Spanish Arabs: but the most complete specimen of an Arabian garden, is that of the Alcazar, an ancient palace at Seville, which was originally founded by the Moors, though it has received considerable alterations and additions from subsequent monarchs. This garden was laid out by the Moors, and is preserved in its original state: it contains walks paved with marble, and parterres, laid out with evergreens, and well shaded with orange trees. In many parts of it, there are baths, supplied by marble fountains from a noble aqueduct (originally erected by the Romans, and repaired by the Moors), that furnishes the whole city of Seville with water. There is an ingenious contrivance peculiar to this garden, by which the walks are rendered one continued fountain, by forcing up small streams of water from minute pipes inserted in the joining of the slabs, which in this climate produces a most delightful effect. An intelligent traveller observes, that, as a specimen of an Arabian garden in its original state, this is an interesting object: and we naturally associate with it recollections gathered from the eastern writers, especially from the Song of Solomon, in the Scriptures, in which the descriptions perfectly accord with this garden; for, in addition to the other circumstances, it is completely walled round, and is

* La Borde, Voyage Pittoresque et Historique de l'Espagne, tom. ii. (Notice Historique,) p. xl. who cites Banquieri's Introduction to his Version of Abū Zacharia. De Castro, Hist. de Seville, c. ii. p. 51.

† See a view and description of this garden in the "Arabian Antiquities of Spain," Plate IV.

secluded from every person, except the inhabitants of one part of the palace.*

The Spanish Arabs made some progress in working mines of the various metals with which the mountains of Granada abound. An oriental writer of the tenth century, Ebn Haukal,† asserts, that in Andalus, or Spain, there were many mines of gold and silver. From these the Moorish sovereigns derived ample supplies of the precious metal, and probably also by washing the sand of the river Dauro or Darro, which runs through the city of Granada. The works of Abdullāh Ibnū-l-Khatib, and of Abdurrahmān Abū Jaafar further prove, that they worked mines of gold, silver, iron, lead, marcasites, and many other minerals;‡ for which purpose they sunk pits of a square form, and rather narrow, and differing from those of the Romans, which were round and very extensive. By observing this difference Don Bowles§ discovered the great works undertaken by the Arabs for the working of mines; and, in illustration of it, he notices the traces still existing in the kingdom of Jaen, near Linares; where, within the space of about a league, upwards of five hundred pits or wells may be seen, which were sunk after the Arabian manner. We have no certain evidence whether they availed themselves of the quicksilver mine, which had been worked by the Romans, at Almaden; which, however, seems probable, since, in the writings of Novairi and Mogrebi, relative to the superb palace of Azzahrā, erected by Abdurrahmān, mention is made of a large basin of alabaster, in the centre of which a fountain of quicksilver played.¶

That the Arabs were skilled in the working of metals, there is every reason to believe, from the canals of the mosque of Cordova—the aque-

* Jacob's Travels in the South of Spain, p. 83. A short description of this garden is also given in Townsend's Travels in Spain, vol. ii. p. 299.

† Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal, translated by Sir Wm. Ouseley, p. 27.

‡ Ibnū-l Khatīb apud Casiri, tom. ii. p. 248, col. 2.

§ Introduction à l'Histoire Naturelle de l'Espagne, pp. 6, 55, and 416.

¶ See pp. 169, 170, *supra*.

ducts erected by Abdurrahmān II. for conveying water to that city—the coining of money, which was first struck in Spain, during his reign—and, lastly, from the casting of cannon for carrying on the siege of Algeçiras. The iron and lead mines were so productive, that the Spanish Arabians were enabled to export considerable quantities of those metals to the Christians of Barcelona, and the Moors of Africa.*

Their manufactures of iron and steel were considerable, and the latter were so excellent, that the swords of Granada were preferred to all others in Spain. By the Africans, the temper of the Spanish arms was held in the greatest repute; Spain being, as it were, the arsenal whence they drew their cuirasses, bucklers, casques, scymetars, and daggers.† The manufactures of silk and cotton were introduced by the Arabians into Spain: woollen cloths were made of a very fine quality;‡ and in dyeing they eminently excelled. To the Spanish Arabs we are probably indebted for the introduction of dyeing black with indigo; with the use of cochineal they were well acquainted:§ and of their progress in the manufacture of porcelain, we have abundant evidence in the superb vases still preserved in the palace of the Alhamrā,|| and in the glazed tiles which form a distinguished ornament of that magnificent edifice.

The cooper's art does not appear to have been known or practised

* Jacob's Travels in Spain, pp. 277, 278.

† Among the numerous works of the celebrated philosopher Alkindi, are two treatises, one on the different kinds of swords, in which the properties of iron are particularly discussed; and the other, on the art of preparing iron (steel) in such a manner, that the edge of a sword can neither be broken nor blunted. Casiti, tom. i. p. 356. col. 2.

‡ The question, M. La Borde remarks, is by no means decided, whether the practice of making sheep travel, in order to refine their fleeces, was in use among the Spanish Arabs, or is a modern invention; for among other presents of great value, which were sent to the Emperor Charlemagne by the sovereigns of Africa and Persia, there was a quantity of fine Spanish wool; and the Khalif Muhammad Abū Abdullāh, also presented to Charles the Bald a piece of very fine Spanish woollen cloth, manufactured at Cordova about the year 860. Voyage Pittoresque, t. ii. p. xli. Masdeeu, Hist. Crit. de Espana, tom. xiii. p. 131.

§ Beckmann's Hist. of Inventions, vol. ii. p. 167, and vol. iv. p. 126.

|| See Mr. Murphy's "Arabian Antiquities of Spain," Plates XLVII. and XLVIII. for splendid specimens of Arabian Porcelain.

among them, as they supplied the place of the numerous wooden vessels to which we are accustomed in domestic life, with baked earth, either plain or glazed. Even their tan-pits were made of the same material: a cluster was observed by the author of the Arabian Antiquities of Spain, on the northern bank of the Guadalquivir, in the vicinity of Cordova, where they probably tanned the celebrated cordovan leather. The alcarrazas, or porous earthen vessels employed to this day in Spain for the purpose of cooling liquids, were first introduced by the Arabs from the east, where they have been known from time immemorial; and their use has since been extended from the peninsula to all the Spanish colonies in America and India. But the manufacture, in which they pre-eminently excelled, was that of tanning, currying, and dyeing leather,* which, though now almost lost in Spain by the expulsion of the Moors, has been carried by them to Fez, where great numbers of them settled; it has also been established in England, where the terms *Morocco* and *Cordovan* are still applied to leather prepared after their mode. With the manufacture of gunpowder and of sugar, we have already seen that they were acquainted; and it now remains that we give to the Spanish Arabs the honour of introducing the manufacture and use of paper into western Europe. This invaluable commodity, it is true, has been made in China from the refuse of silk, from a very remote period: about the 30th year of the Hijra (A. D. 649) the paper manufacture was established at Samarcand; and on the conquest of this celebrated city by the Saracens in the 85th year of the Hijra, the process of fabricating it was conveyed by Yūsuf Amrū to Mecca, his native city. The material employed by him was cotton: and the first paper, nearly similar to that now in use, was made there in the 88th year of the Hijra (A. D. 706). From Mecca, this branch of

* In order to strike blue and green colours, they made use of a peculiar sort of woad called *ocymo admirabile*, with which they also produced a very beautiful scarlet. After preparing the skins with various ingredients, they dyed them of lively colours, and finished them with such a degree of brilliancy, that they looked as if they had been varnished. This manufacture is still carried on in a few places in Andalusia. La Borde, tom. ii. p. xli.

manufacture spread rapidly through all the Arabian states, particularly in Spain; where the town of Xativa, the modern San-Philippo, in the kingdom of Valencia, was celebrated for its beautiful fabrics, so early as the twelfth century. It appears that, at this period, the Spaniards had substituted flax, which they grew in considerable quantities, for cotton, which was more scarce, as well as dearer: nor, were paper manufactories established in the Christian states of Spain, until the close of the thirteenth century, when they were introduced through the care of Alphonsus X. King of Castille. From thence they passed successively into France, Germany, and England. Italy was the last of the European states that received the manufacture of linen paper: the first manufactories established in that country were those of Padua and Treviso, about the middle of the fourteenth century.*

The greatest part of the Arabians, satisfied from the earliest times with national independence and personal liberty, tended their camels, or reared their palm trees within the precincts of their own peninsula; and had little intercourse with the rest of mankind, unless when they sallied out to plunder a caravan or to rob a traveller. In some districts, however, they had begun to add the labours of agriculture to the occupations of pastoral life:† and with the civilized nations of ancient times they had carried on extensive mercantile transactions. The indigenous aromatics, drugs, and dyes of Arabia, as well as the spices which were imported from India, and the gold imported from Africa, occasioned an extensive and animated intercourse with Egypt and Assyria. The frankincense of Yemen continually perfumed the temples of Babylon,‡ and its spices fomented the luxury of Egypt.§ The great commerce, and the capitals by means of which it was carried on, according to Abūlfeda,|| were to be found in the cities along the Arabian coast, forty-two in number, under the successors of Mahomet; but which were more

* Casiri, tom. ii. p. 9. Andres, tom. ii. p. 146—183.

† Sale's Koran, vol. i. pp. 32, 33. Dr. Robertson's Disquisition concerning Ancient India, p. 99, 8vo. edit.

‡ Herodotus, lib. i. c. 183.

§ Genesis, ch. xxxvii. v. 21—25.

|| Apud Hudson, Geographi Minores, vol. ii. pp. 15, 16

numerous in the times preceding the prophet. By land, this traffic was carried on by caravans, and its conductors were the Nomadic troops of Tema and the companies of Sema,* the Nabathæans of antiquity, and the Bedoweens of the present day,—men, who from the age of Moses downwards have led the same pastoral life, conducting their sheep, horses, and camels through wide solitudes, to the same distant wells, and to the same scattered specks of scanty pasture.

In consequence of the rapid diffusion of Islamism, both during the life, and especially after the death of its founder, the Arabians early became masters of Persia and Egypt: and, finding their new subjects in both countries engaged in prosecuting an extensive trade with India, they were so sensible of the great advantages derived from it, that they became desirous to partake of them. From impetuous warriors, the Arabs soon became enterprising merchants; and in a short time they advanced far beyond the boundaries of ancient navigation, and brought many of the most precious commodities of the east directly from the countries which produced them.†

During the latter part of the Gothic monarchy in Spain, the arts, navigation, and commerce had greatly decayed, and the country was proportionably impoverished: but, as soon as the Arabians were firmly established in their newly acquired dominions, literature, arts, and manufactures revived; and they availed themselves to the fullest extent of the commercial advantages, which their ports and line of coast presented to them. The port of Barcinona, now called Barcelona, became the principal station of the intercourse with the eastern countries bordering on the Mediterranean Sea; and the ship carpenters of that city built vessels, not only for their own countrymen, but also for other nations. The most prosperous period, however, of the Arabian commerce in Spain, was during the reign of the illustrious Abdurrahmān III. Khalif of Cordova. Of their internal traffic no particulars have been

* Job, ch. vi. v. 19.

† Dr. Robertson's *Disquisition*, p. 100, et seq. To which the reader is referred for an interesting sketch of Ancient Arabian commerce: but the completest account extant is to be found in Dr. Vincent's classical work "*The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*," 4to.

recorded, that can enable us to form any correct estimate of its extent and importance : but their foreign commerce was distributed into various channels, which brought an incredible flow of wealth into their country.

Gold, silver, copper, raw and wrought silk, sugar, cochineal, quicksilver, pig and cast iron, olives,* and especially their woollen manufactures, were the most lucrative articles of exportation. To these must be added ambergris, yellow amber, load-stones, antimony, talc, marcasites, rock crystal, oil, sugar, sulphur, saffron, ginger, myrrh, and various other drugs,—corals fished on the coast of Andalusia, pearls obtained from that of Catalonia ; rubies, of which two mines had been discovered in the vicinity of Malaga and at Beja, and also amethysts procured from a mine near Carthage. All these last enumerated articles, though inferior in value and quantity to the other exports, nevertheless produced clear and ample returns. Barbary, Egypt, and the east, were the countries with which they principally carried on their extensive commerce. Throughout Africa, the Spanish arms, raw and wrought silks, and woollen cloths of various colours, were in very great demand ; and with Egypt they bartered their different exports, to a still greater amount, for such commodities as were in the greatest request in Spain : and the luxuries of India were brought from Alexandria to Malaga, to supply the wants of the court.

In this lucrative commerce, which was almost entirely conducted by the Jews, Almeria, Barcelona, and Valencia, chiefly participated : and these places under the Moorish dominion, were as eminent emporia as the Hanse towns. In the 12th and 13th centuries, the port of Almeria was principally celebrated ; and in the 14th century, the trade of Barcelona was immense. That city had armed vessels for protecting the coasts of Catalonia, and the safety of her commerce ; she had a factory on the Tanaïs, where a consul resided, who in 1397 offered presents to Tīmūr, or Tamerlane. At the period now referred to, the Arabs had

* Seville was the principal mart for olives under the Moorish dominion in Spain ; and so extensive was the trade in this article, that in the Axarafe or olive plantations with which that city was surrounded, the number of farm-houses and olive-presses amounted to one hundred thousand.

a numerous marine; their ships were built from the woods and forests of Spain; and they are said to have possessed upwards of one thousand merchant vessels.*

But the immensity of their traffic with the east is scarcely to be conceived. From motives of policy, the Khalifs of Cordova endeavoured to preserve amicable relations with the Greek emperors, with a view to check the enterprises of the Khalifs of Damascus; who ceased not to repine at the dismemberment of their empire by Abdurrahmān I. All the ports of the Grecian dominions were open to the Spanish traders, who brought rich cargoes of merchandize, adapted to the calls of that refined luxury, by which the court of Constantinople was then distinguished. The profits derived from these successful speculations, must have been prodigious: and, while they abundantly remunerated the merchants, afforded an ample source of revenue to the sovereign.† From the treatise on commerce of Moslema Abulcassem of Madrid, who wrote in the 10th century, it appears that the balance of trade was decidedly in favour of the Spanish Arabs; whom Casiri compares to the ancient Phœnicians and Carthaginians, for their maritime commerce, and the voyages they undertook by sea.‡

Of the money, current among the Spanish Arabs in their commercial transactions, our information is scanty and imperfect. The historian Ibnū-l-Khatīb states generally, that the Granadian money was inferior to none in point of goodness, being struck from the purest gold and silver.§ The more immediate successors of Muhammad coined no money in their own names, the Greek and Persian coins then in circulation, being deemed sufficient. The first Cūfic coins, according to Elmacin,¶ were issued by order of the Khalif Abdulmalik in the 76th year of the Hijra, A. D. 695; but Al-Makrizi asserts, that the Khalif Omar coined money so early as the 18th year of the Hijra, A. D. 639.||

* Manuel Geographique et Statistique de l'Espagne, pp. 311, 312.

† Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, sous la domination des Arabes, tom. i. pp. 340-343.

‡ Casiri has given a brief notice of his life and writings, tom. i. p. 378. col. 2.

§ Ibid, tom. ii. p. 259, col. 1.

¶ Elmacin, Hist. Saracenica, p. 64.

|| Al-Makrizi, Historia Monetæ Arabicæ (a Tychsen, Rostock, 1797, 8vo.) pp. 7, 78.

Which of these accounts is the more correct, it is at this time difficult to determine; no Cūfic coin being known to be extant, of so early a date as the time of Abdulmalik. Notwithstanding Muhammad prohibited every species of human representation, the Khalifs stamped their effigies on one side of their respective coins, and on the reverse their names, together with some passages from the Koran. Among the various coins of the Musalmān sovereigns, which have hitherto been published, none are to be found of the Spanish Khalifs: M. Adler, whose learned researches on this topic will amply repay the study of the numismatic antiquarian, has noticed only one gold coin, which was struck by order of Yūsuf Ibn Tāshifīn, Emperor of Morocco; who, having been invited into Spain, to assist the Moslems against Alphonso King of Toledo, quickly made himself master of Granada, Seville, and the rest of the Arabian conquests in the peninsula; the same able writer also mentions another coin of Alī, his son, which is supposed to have been minted at Seville.* The coins, most frequently mentioned in the history of the Spanish Arabs, are the Dinar, and the Dirham: the former was of gold, and varied both in weight and value, under the reigns of the different Khalifs; it is computed, by the best writers, to have been equivalent to about nine shillings and two-pence sterling. The dirham was a silver coin, the value of which, being equally fluctuating, it is difficult to ascertain.

Somewhat more satisfactory than the preceding, is our information relative to the weights and measures, employed by the Spanish Arabs; of which the following are mentioned as being most frequently in use. The lowest denomination of *weights* was a *grain* or barley-corn, which

* Adleri Museum Cuficum Borgianum, cap. ii. The coin of Yūsuf ibn Tāshifīn, above noticed, is engraved in the introductory title-page to Mr. Murphy's Description of Arabian Antiquities in the Alhamrā: it is also described by Professor Tychsen in the words of the Granadine historian, Abū Mohammed Ben Abdalhalim. Hist. Mon. pp. 66, 149. M. Tychsen further notices (p. 87, note) two Andalusian coins, one of the year of the Hijra 104 in his own possession, and another of the year 107, engraved by M. Hallenberg in a disquisition published at Stockholm in 1797. Niebuhr has engraved and described some ancient Arabic coins, in his Description de l'Arabie, Plates X. XII. pp. 86-88.

weighed $\frac{6}{8}$ of a drachm. Two grains formed one سوطج *satūj*; two *satūj*, or four grains, one قيراط or قراط, *kīrāt* or *karrāt* (the grain of the *siliqua dulcis* or sweet pea), whence our English weight of the carat is derived. Among the Arabs of Asia and Egypt, three *kīrāts* made one دانق *dānik*, but in Spain only two *kīrāts*. Twelve *kīrāts* made a درهم *dirham*; the مثقال *mithcāl* was $1\frac{3}{7}$ or $1\frac{1}{2}$ of a dirham. The رطل *ratl*, was a weight of 20 ounces among the Asiatic Arabs; but among the Arabs of Spain it contained only 12 ounces. Two ratls formed the من *mann*, which was also a dry measure; the اوقية *aukiya*, or ounce, was a weight of 40 dirhams, according to the Sunna; but afterwards, especially among the physicians, it weighed only $10\frac{5}{7}$ dirhams. Of these various weights, the *mithkāl* appears to have been most frequently in use. Among the Arabian measures of length, we may notice the ذراع *dhirā* or cubit, and the باع *bā*, which was equivalent to the length of an arm, an ell. The largest measure of dry things, Casiri terms a *cyathus*, and states it to have contained six modii, or from 9 to 12 pecks of our measure.*

* *Margaritæ collectæ e Makrizi Libello de Ponderibus et Mensuris*, in *Hist. Monet. Arab.* pp. 135-146. Casiri, tom. i. pp. 281, 365, 366. Any inaccuracy in the above comparative statement of Arabian coins, weights, and measures, the reader (it is hoped) will regard with an indulgent eye; when he considers the difficulty of ascertaining their respective equivalents.

SECTION II.

ARCHITECTURE OF THE ARABIANS.

*Origin of the Ancient Architecture of Arabia—Notice of some ancient Edifices—
Mosques at Damascus and Cairūn—Architecture of the Arabs in Spain—
Improvements in Arabian Architecture—Pantanas or Reservoirs—Observations
on the Arrangement of their Houses—Structure of their Roofs—Durability of
Moorish Edifices—Form of Bricks—Walls, how constructed—The characteris-
tic Features of Arabian Architecture considered.*

VARIOUS and remote were the sources, whence the Arabians derived their notions of the arts. Some rudiments of the learning of the surrounding nations,—the Egyptians, Syrians, Chaldeans, and Persians—were, in all probability, introduced among them at a very early period by means of commercial intercourse: but these rudiments of science continued, like their dreary wastes, uncultivated and unimproved. Secluded in a great degree from social intercourse with the rest of mankind, and rarely disturbed by foreign invaders, they acquired, in lawless independence, habits averse from the cultivation of the arts and sciences: previously to the age of Muhammad, we have seen that they possessed only a scanty knowledge of the arts; and, before the institution of Islāmism, they appear to have been extremely deficient in the art of building, even in the beautiful country of Yaman. In this province were situated the most ancient and populous of the forty-two cities of Arabia, enumerated by Abu-lfeda; of which Sanaa and Merab were the most distinguished.

Sanaa, the capital, was celebrated for its lofty towers; and, by the

historian just mentioned, is compared to Damascus for the splendour of its edifices.* Merab, or Meriaba, which is said to have been six miles in circumference, when it was destroyed by the Roman legions under Ælius Gallus,† was famous for its vast reservoir, formed by a narrow valley between two ranges of hills, and a day's journey in length. Hither flowed the waters of six or seven small rivers: to confine these in the rainy season, the narrow entrance of the valley was shut up by a solid wall of hewn stone, fifty feet in height, on which many of the inhabitants erected dwellings, and in which three flood-gates were constructed one above another, to diffuse the fertilizing fluid over the adjacent lands, during the dry season. But God, says the Nubian geographer, being highly displeased at their great pride and insolence, and resolving to humble and disperse them, sent a mighty torrent, which broke down the mound by night, and swept away the whole city, together with the neighbouring towns and people.‡

One of the most distinguished architects of ancient Arabia was Sennamar, who is supposed to have been a Chaldean by birth. By him were erected for Nōman Al Aōuar, the tenth king of Hira, the castles or towers of Sedir and Khawārnak, so celebrated by the Arabian poets and proverbs, by whom they were reckoned among the wonders of the world. With such skill, it is said, were these edifices erected, that a single stone tied together each entire structure; and the colour of the stones, with which the walls were built, changed several times in the course of the day. The fate of the architect was remarkable, and gave rise to the Arabian proverb,—“the reward of Sennamar.” To com-

* Abu-lfeda, apud Geograph. Minores, tom. iii. p. 54. According to the Danish traveller, Niebuhr, who has given a plan of the city, Sanaa is still the residence of the Imān of Yaman. Voyage en Arabie, tom. i. pp. 341-342.

† Pliny, Hist. Nat. lib. vi. c. 82.

‡ Geogr. Nubiensis, pp. 52-53. Sale's Koran, Prelim. Discourse, p. 10, 4to. edit. The inquisitive traveller, Niebuhr, however, treats this tradition relative to the destruction of the reservoir of Merab as a popular fable, and ascribes it to neglect, in not repairing the mound, when the Sabæan kingdom declined; the neighbouring fields being no longer watered from the reservoir, became waste and barren, and the city was thus left without the means of subsistence. He adds, that Merab is so situated on an eminence, and at such a distance, that it could not suffer in consequence of the demolition of the wall. Descript. de l'Arabie, pp. 240-242.

pensate him for his labour, the sovereign made him very splendid presents ; but, considering afterwards that Sennamar *might* erect similar towers for his enemies, and fearing also lest he should discover the keystone of the building, he commanded him to be precipitated headlong from its summit into the ditch that surrounded it ! *

Of the other remains of ancient architecture in Arabia, but few monuments have been preserved ; and of those few, the best accounts are both imperfect and uncertain. The supposed houses of the people called *Thamud*, it is said, are still to be seen in excavations of rocks ; but, of the seven ancient temples in which the Arabs worshipped their idols, the Caaba at Mecca is the only one, which has survived the desolations of time, and retains its primeval sanctity. The origin of this quadrangular edifice is lost in a cloud of idle traditions : it is twenty-four cubits long, twenty-three broad, and twenty-seven high ; a door on the east side, and a window, admit the light ; the double roof is supported by three octangular pillars of aloes-wood ; and a spout, formerly of wood but now of gold, discharges the rain water. The munificence of a king of the Homerites, who reigned one hundred and twenty-eight years before the Christian Æra, has been commemorated in Arabian verse, in covering the holy temple with striped cloth and fine linen, and in making keys for its gate : the modern veil of black silk fringed with gold, is annually renewed by the Turkish emperor. Since the promulgation of the Korān, the Caaba is the kibla or fixed point of the horizon, to which the Moslems in every part of the world turn their faces when they pray : it is now encompassed by a spacious quadrangle, the work of successive Khalifs, consisting of porticoes and apartments for the accommodation of the pilgrims who resort to it from various parts of the east.† But the tombs belonging to the eighty descendants of Mahomet, and also the tomb of his wife Kadija, no longer excite the veneration of the Moslems. The holy city was entered by the Wahabees, a numerous body of reformed Mahometans, on the 27th of April, 1803, who levelled the tombs to the ground, and plundered the holy places

* D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, tom. iii. p. 307. Ant. Universal Hist. vol. xvi. p. 310.

† Sale's Koran, Prel. Disc. pp. 114-122. Sir W. Jones's Works, vol. iii. pp. 61-62.

of their valuable articles, but suffered the Caaba to remain uninjured. Mecca, however, was afterwards repossessed by its Sharif.*

Whatever knowledge of the arts the Arabians acquired, in the ages subsequent to Mahomet, they owed to the people whom they subdued from the Indus to the Nile. During the ten years' reign of Omar, the second Khalif, (who died A. D. 644), the victorious Moslems reduced to obedience thirty-six thousand cities or castles, destroyed four thousand churches or temples of the Christians, and erected fourteen hundred mosques for the exercise of the Mahometan religion. Immediately after the surrender of Jerusalem, Omar founded a small mosque, the first, perhaps, which was erected out of the precincts of Arabia, upon the site of the ancient temple: by the pious zeal of succeeding Khalifs, it was afterwards enlarged and embellished; and, according to D'Anville, its circumference is nearly a Roman mile, being two hundred and fifteen toises in length, by one hundred and seventy-two in breadth.† Of the splendour of this edifice some idea may be formed, from the account of the Nubian geographer; ‡ who states it to be second only to the magnificent Mezquita at Cordova, the present state of which is delineated by Mr. Murphy with equal fidelity and beauty, in his "Arabian Antiquities of Spain." §

* Lord Valentia's Voyages and Travels, vol. ii. pp. 388-389.

It is to be regretted that no authentic delineation of this curious specimen of Arabian architecture has yet been communicated to the English reader. The Bodleian Library contains an original drawing of the Caaba; and an engraving, from a Turkish design, is given by Reland in his treatise on the Mahometan religion, both in the Latin and also in the French edition, with his *corrections*; among which are seen doors and windows decorated with architraves, entablatures, and pediments, in the Græco-Roman style. Reland's engraving has been followed in the plans of the Caaba, given in Gagnier's "Vie de Mahomet," Sale's "Koran," Pitts's "Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mahometans," Ockley's "History of the Saracens," and the "Ancient Universal History." The best view hitherto published, is that given by the German architect, Fischer, in the third book of his "Essai d'une Architecture Historique," (Leipsic, fol. 1725) from an original design; which he states to have been made by an Arabian engineer, and which, after it had been sent to Constantinople, found its way to Vienna, where it was in the possession of the Counsellor Heidelberg, about the year 1715.

† D'Anville, Dissertation sur l'Etendue de l'Ancienne Jerusalem, pp. 42-54. See a description of the celebrated Mosque at Jerusalem, *supra*, p. 45-46, note.

‡ Geographia Nubiensis, p. 113.

§ See particularly, Plates I. to VIII.

With the extension of their empire and religion, the Arabians gradually acquired a relish for the arts: and on the commencement of the Ommiad dynasty, a taste for their cultivation began to diffuse itself. When Muāvia, the first of that race, usurped the sovereign power, he removed the throne from Medina to Damascus; and, disdaining the austere frugality of the first Khalifs, he assumed the magnificence of an Asiatic monarch. During his reign, and those of his successors, the seat of government was enlarged and adorned with numerous public edifices; among which the great mosque of Damascus, founded by Alwalīd I. is particularly celebrated. He appended to it the beautiful church of St. John the Baptist, and a lofty minaret; and during many years of his Khilāfat, he expended a great part of his revenue in embellishing these edifices.* The example of the commanders of the faithful, was imitated by the governors of their provinces: the artificers of Damascus and Heliopolis, of Chalcis and Antioch, of Jerusalem, Tyre and Cæsarea, were enlisted in the service of the state; and the arts of Syria and Palestine became familiar to the descendants of the naked hordes of the desert.

But the reigns of the Khalifs of the house of Al Abbās were most propitious to the culture of the fine arts among the eastern Arabs: the seat of empire, which had been removed by the first of the Ommiad dynasty to Damascus, was transferred by the second of the Abassides to the western frontiers of Persia; and Baghdad, founded by Almansūr in the year of the Hijra, 145—A. D. 762, continued for five centuries to be the splendid capital of the oriental Khalifs. In the structure and decoration of this city, neither labour nor expense was spared; and the superb magnificence of Almansūr's palace, would almost exceed the ordinary limits of human credence, were it not attested by the most authentic evidence.†

Egypt and Africa, we have already seen, early yielded to the victo-

* See a short account of this edifice *supra*, pp. 46, 47.

† Mr. Gibbon has given an interesting account of the building of this celebrated city. *Decline and Fall*, vol. x. pp. 35—37.

rious arms of the Moslems :* in the progress of their conquests, it does not appear that the Arabians founded any edifices between Alexandria and Ceuta, previously to their invasion of Spain, except the citadel of Cairūān or Kairūān, founded by the victorious general Akbah, by whom it was modestly termed a colony.† After various reverses, Cairūān became the seat of learning and empire, under the Fatimite Khalifs, who, in the tenth century, founded the new city and palace of Cairo, and who affected to rival the fame of Baghdad, at least in the magnificence of their public buildings, and in their literary institutions. Numerous vestiges of ancient architecture are to be found at Cairūān : and among the stately edifices with which this city is adorned, we may notice the great mosque, which is accounted the most sacred and magnificent in Barbary, and is said to be supported by five hundred columns of granite, porphyry, and Numidian marble.‡

In arts and sciences, the western Arabs were not inferior to those of the east : the buildings erected by the Ommiad Khalifs of Spain rivalled those of Damascus, Baghdad, or Cairo in the zenith of their prosperity ; and the superb magnificence of the mosque at Cordova, of the city and palace of Azzahrā, and of the royal fortress and palaces of the Alhamrā and Al Generalife, which have already been described,§ surpass every thing that is recorded relative to the most splendid cities of antiquity. But, in reviewing the various remains of Arabian art, it is a circumstance worthy of remark, that no people ever constructed so many edifices as the Arabs, who extracted fewer materials from the quarry. From the Tigris to the Orontes—from the Nile to the Guadalquivir, the buildings of the first settlers were raised from the wreck of cities, castles,

* See pp. 17, 18, *supra*.

† Ockley's *Hist. of the Saracens*, vol. ii. pp. 129, 130. D'Herbelot, tom. i. p. 477.

‡ Leo Africanus, p. 223, cited in Shaw's *Travels in Barbary*, vol. i. p. 219. L'Afrique de Marmol, tom. ii. p. 532.

§ See pp. 161—174, *et seq.* *supra*, for some account of Cordova, and the city of Azzahrā, and pp. 192—200 for the Alhamrā, and villa of Al Generalife : but, to form any thing like correct notions of their real beauty and magnificence, the reader is referred to Mr. Murphy's "*Arabian Antiquities of Spain*," already cited.

and fortresses. Modain, or Ctesiphon, and Babylon, furnished materials for the public and private edifices of Baghdad. The dismantled towns and temples of Syria might suffice to raise the mosques and palaces of the Ommiad Khalifs. In Egypt, old Cairo was transformed into the new city of that name: Memphis was already in ruins, and the land was strewn with vestiges of the monuments of the Pharaohs, the Ptolemies, and the Cæsars. The mosque of Mercy, at Alexandria, was composed of the recent ruins of the city, and erected on the spot where the victorious Amrū arrested the fury of his troops.* The work of destruction kept pace with the progress of conquest along the western coast of Africa, from Tripoli to the Atlantic: five hundred episcopal churches are said to have been overturned with the African hierarchy, by the hostile rage of the Arabians and Moors; many of whose scattered fragments were afterwards collected and cemented in the modern buildings of Tunis and Algiers, and the mosques of Cordova and Cairūān were decorated with the spoils of Carthage.

What most of all contributed to the improvement of Arabian architecture was, their acquaintance with the mathematical writings of the Greeks. The first Moslems, indeed, having no idea of building beyond their native plebeian habitations, caused the artificers of the conquered countries hastily to pile up the fragments of plundered structures, according to their rude instructions. But, in later times, when their zeal for making conquests and proselytes had subsided, they found leisure to cultivate the sciences, and acquired a taste for the fine arts. Towards the close of the seventh century, they translated many of the Greek mathematical writers: the works of Archimedes, Euclid, Apollonius, and Diophantus, were explained in their language; and they made very considerable progress in the mathematics, the main principle of the art of construction.† The uncontrolled dominion of Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt presented to their view some of the greatest edifices of antiquity. The science of architecture was discussed by some of their learned men: Rashīd composed an extensive treatise on

* Gibbon, vol. ix. p. 439.

† See an account of the mathematical studies of the Arabians, pp. 251—257, *supra*.

this subject in three parts ; and the *Ketab alhaitan*, or art of building, by Thacafi, has been commented upon by Damaguni, a distinguished Cadhy, or magistrate.*

It is a prominent feature of Islāmism, that wherever it is professed, it diffuses a general resemblance of manner and opinions. Hence, as the climate of southern Spain was in many respects not unlike to that of Arabia, we find that the manners of the Spanish Arabs were the same as those in the east. In every place the conveniency of water was a grand requisite; and to this day Spain is indebted to the Arabians for various aqueducts,† either erected or restored by them, as well as for *Pantanos*,‡ or vast reservoirs of water. The great mosque at Cordova, and the palace of Alhamrā, at Granada, were both furnished with capacious cisterns; the gardens also contained canals or sheets of water, on the surfaces of which the buildings were reflected; and fountains were frequent in the streets, as well as in the courts of the houses, in the principal cities of Moorish Spain, by which the heat of the climate was attempered, during the summer. Further, on contrasting the disposition of the apartments in the Alhamrā with the accounts given us by modern travellers relative to the modes of building in the east,§ we may perceive a general resemblance in the style of architecture: in both, we see large doors, spacious chambers, cloistered courts, with fountains playing in the centre, ornamented tiles, and elegantly executed mosaic work.|| The exterior, however, of

* D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.* tom. ii. p. 385.

† See an account of the great aqueduct of Cordova, *supra*, p. 175.

‡ Similar *Pantanos*, or reservoirs, have been constructed by the modern Spaniards. There is a capacious one at Alicant (*Townsend's Travels*, vol. iii. p. 191), and there was an ample reservoir at Lorca, in the kingdom of Murcia, which the Spaniards had formed on the site of a former one of the Arabs, but which was unfortunately destroyed on the 23d of April, 1802. The fertility of a considerable part of this province depended on the water of this Pantano, which was situated between mountains, and was fortified at the hither extremity by a mound or bulwark of stone. An unusually heavy fall of rain which descended, caused the mound to give way; the water, in its progress, destroyed a great part of the city and its inhabitants, and, in short, whatever came within the rage of the foaming torrent, in its progress to the Mediterranean sea. For an account of the cisterns still subsisting in Africa, see *Shaw's Travels*, vol. i. p. 372.

§ See particularly the engraving of a Moorish house in *Shaw's Travels*, vol. i. p. 373.

|| For an account of the houses of Granada in particular, see pp. 190, 191, *supra*.

their mansions was the object of comparatively little attention: upon the interior every thing was profusely lavished, that could tend to promote luxurious ease and personal comfort. And so admirable was the arrangement of air in their apartments, that no reverberation of sound existed; and the light was admitted in such a manner, as generally to exclude external prospects, and direct the spectator necessarily to behold and admire their interior ornaments and beauties. By means of caleducts, or tubes of baked earth, warm air was admitted, so as to preserve an uniform temperature; but they bestowed their utmost labour and skill in decorating the ceilings of their edifices; and those which still subsist in the Alhamrā and the royal villa of Al Generalife,* are perhaps the finest specimens extant of Arabian delicacy and taste. One of the completest Moorish houses now remaining in Spain is to be seen at Seville: it was originally erected for a Spanish-Arabian chieftain, whose residence it was; and, though it is at least five centuries since it was built, this edifice was in perfect preservation in the year 1809.

The whole is most voluptuously contrived for a warm climate; but one of the apartments is stated to exceed every thing which the traveller had seen. Its form is a double cube, the one placed above the other; its height is about sixty feet, and its breadth about thirty feet. The ornaments begin at about ten feet from the floor, and are continued to the top of the room: they consist of a kind of variegated network of stucco, designed with uncommon regularity and beauty. This stucco is said to be composed of lime, mixed with the whites of eggs; but whatever its ingredients may be, such is its durability, that after the lapse of at least five hundred years, not a flaw or crack is to be seen on its whole surface, which is as hard as stone. This apartment alone, it has been remarked, is a sufficient proof of the superiority of the Moors over the Spaniards in their taste for decorating their dwellings.†

The manner in which the modern Spaniards cover their roofs, is also derived from the Arabs. First, they lay coarse boards over the rafters,

* Many plates of these truly elegant ornaments occur in the "Arabian Antiquities of Spain."

† Jacob's Travels in Spain, p. 84.

and upon these boards is spread a coat of coarse brown plaster of Paris, mixed with pulverised free stone. A similar method was practised by the Moors; who, instead of boards, sometimes used canes, and sometimes bricks or flat tiles. The latter had a blue glazing over them; and sometimes their paving bricks were made of various colours, as blue, white, black, yellow, &c. and, when properly contrasted, they have a very neat effect.

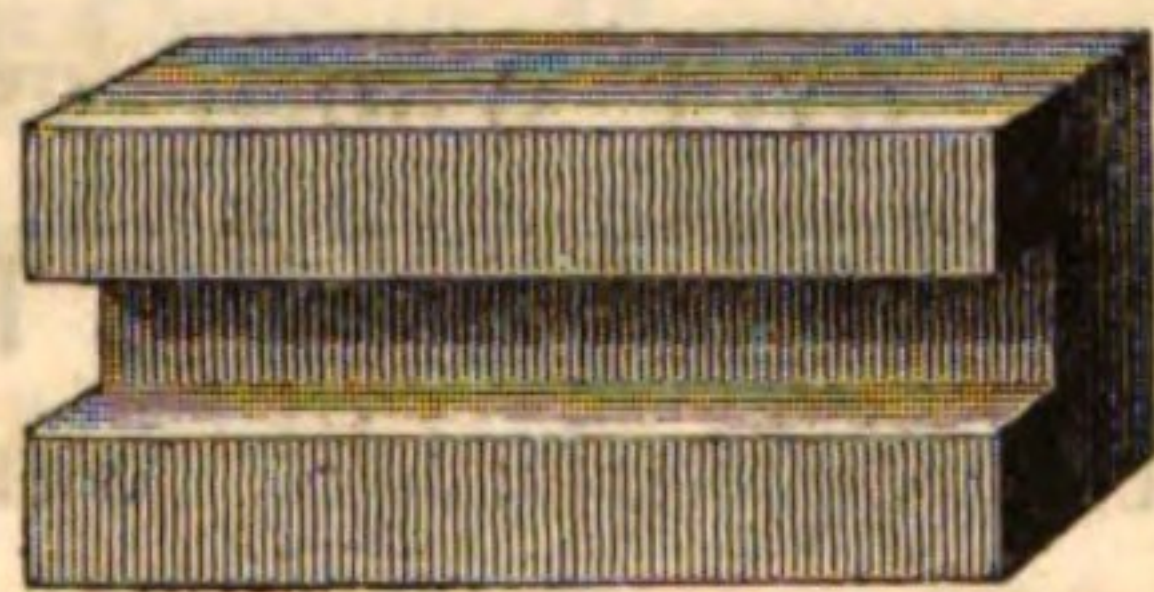
The durability of the Moorish edifices is truly astonishing. History, indeed, furnishes some well authenticated instances of the durability of wood: the gate of cypress, belonging to the celebrated temple of Diana at Ephesus, lasted four hundred years; and that of the old church of Saint Peter at Rome, which was composed of the same material, and lined with sheets of silver, continued undecayed for five hundred and fifty years. But a more remarkable instance of durability than either of these buildings presents, is to be found in the capacious mosque at Cordova. The beams employed in the construction of its roof, which is an admirable piece of carpentry, amount to several thousand cubic feet of a species of pine wood,* and manifest no signs of corruption or decay after a lapse of ten centuries.

Notwithstanding the desolations of time in the course of the six centuries that have elapsed since the first erection of the Alhamrā—notwithstanding the more desolating dilapidations caused by neglect or indolence on the part of its present owners—a large portion of that noble specimen of Arabian art still subsists, in an excellent state of preservation. The wood work of the floor, in many parts of this celebrated edifice, is of pine: the veneering work of the cieling is, for the most part, if not entirely, of the same material; and several pieces that were closely examined, proved to be perfectly sound; not the slightest mark whatever of dry rot, worm, or insect could be observed in any part. This uncommon durability of the pine timber has been ascribed to the trees being well *lanced*, or deprived of their sap at the time of felling: but it is highly probable that the paint which was

* Called by the Spaniards *Alerce*: it is, we believe, the white larch.

applied to it, has contributed to its preservation. The first coat is white, composed perhaps of white lead and oil ; the second coat is brown, and probably composed of red lead and carpenter's glue.* Upon this coat are laid the other colours, in figures and foliage, which retain their lustre admirably, particularly the white ; which is so bright and clear, that the white roof of the Sala de Comares is generally supposed to be mother of pearl. When bricks or tiles were placed upon the wood-work, the Arabians put gypsum in contact with the wood.

The Moors made the bricks, with which the floors of their fortresses were paved, of the following form :



They were fourteen inches and a half in length, by seven inches and a half in breadth, and were three inches and a quarter thick. The bottom was divided into three parts, one of which was hollow, about three quarters of an inch, or an inch in depth : this cavity was made with the design of rendering them firm in the cement ; how well it answered, the remains of Arabian architecture, still existing, will abundantly evince. Where the brick pavement is laid over boards, there is a stratum, either of potter's clay, of bricks laid dry, or of gypsum, immediately in contact with the wood, but no lime, as that

* The uncommon durability of the wooden ciellings in the Alhamrā, is, by the Spaniards, ascribed to their being coated with a composition, consisting of *Safne* glue (what this cement is, we have not been able to ascertain), and garlic well pounded in a mortar ; these being mixed together, with the addition of vermillion, are boiled over a gentle fire, until the glue becomes as thin as water. Too much or too little boiling deprives it of its viscous property. Planks, cemented together with this composition, will (it is said) adhere so firmly, as to break in any other part than at the juncture. Garlic being noxious to worms, the Moors evidently mixed it with the glue, in order to prevent their depredations : it is not improbable, that it was mixed with their gypsum, which may account for their stucco work remaining uninjured either by spiders or insects. MS. communication from Mr. Murphy.

would injure the substance of the wood. Over this lower stratum was spread the cement, in which the bricks, tiles, marble flags, &c. were laid.

Their walls are variously constructed of clay, brick, rubble, or of a compound of all these articles. Where coarse gravel was employed, they put in pieces of pine-wood, at certain intervals; when soft clay was employed, strands or twists made of the esparto (*Stipa tenacissima*) a species of rush, were put in; in both cases, they used the common *milha* canes, as well as in their cielings. In the latter, they wound cords of esparto round the canes at similar intervals, and nailed these cords to the joists, but not to the canes. When they had occasion to apply gypsum or plaster over wood, esparto cords were twisted round it, in order to receive and bind the plaster: the same practice is retained to this day by the Spaniards, who find that it succeeds uncommonly well, and greatly contributes to the durability of their edifices. It also appears to have been a practice among the Moors to drive nails into the walls, to receive the plaster: the heads of several spikes and nails are still to be seen in the Alhamrā; but it is to be observed, that they put gypsum or plaster of Paris (not lime) in contact with the iron, which has thus been effectually preserved from rust.

The remains of Arabian military architecture, which are in a tolerable state of preservation, are not very numerous. The fortress, or palace of Alhamrā, already described, offers, perhaps, the finest specimen: few of its arches, however, exist; and these are of a pointed horse-shoe form, with the exception of one, which is a parabola. Its walls, which are a mixture of clay and small rubble, and of small rubble stone and gravel, are cast in the manner above-mentioned, and are coated with the same material. They are about seven feet thick, and flanked by towers of eighteen feet in the thickness, quite solid. Both in the walls of this castle, as well as in those of the fortress at Velez Malaga, there are braces or ties, chiefly of pine-wood, which are buried in the wall; and which continue perfectly free from rot, notwithstanding they have never undergone any preparation whatever.

The Moorish fortresses were erected on the summits of almost inacces-

sible mountains ; to which they retired when repulsed ; and whence, with recruited vigour, they again issued forth, and in their turn became the assailants. It has further been asserted, but on what evidence we have not been able to ascertain, that the telegraph was used, if not with all the effect and improvements of recent date, yet with a dexterity that gave them great advantages over an enemy. Watch-towers were constructed, from which signals of smoke by day, and of torches by night, communicated the movements of their opponents.*

On a careful review of the most perfect remains of Arabian architecture, and on comparing them with the best preserved specimens of other styles of ancient architecture, we may be justified in considering it as partaking chiefly of the Græco-Roman, or Byzantine, that is, of the style which prevailed in the Lower Greek empire, and of the Egyptian. The former was adopted when the Arabians conquered the Roman provinces in the east ; and the latter, on the subjugation of Egypt, by Amrū under the Khilāfat of Omar. M. Laborde, in his *Voyage Pittoresque de l'Espagne*, has assigned three distinct periods to the rise, progress, and decay of Moorish architecture ; the first includes the space from the commencement of Islāmism to the ninth century ; the second embraces the period from the ninth to the thirteenth century ; and the third, from that time to the decline of the Mahometan empire in Spain.

During the first of these periods, the architecture of the Arabians evidently marks its origin : the finest specimens of this style, unquestionably, is the mosque of Cordova, the plan of which corresponds in many respects with that of many of the oldest churches at Rome ; and the materials with which it was constructed, were either taken, or coarsely imitated, from the basilics which had previously been erected in Spain by the Romans.†

Of the second period, the royal fortress and palace of Alhamrā pre-

* Jacob's *South of Spain*, p. 281.

† See the history of this mosque, *supra* pp. 175—182, and for views of its various parts with remarks on the peculiarities of its architecture, consult Mr. Murphy's "*Arabian Antiquities of Spain*," Plates I. to VII.

sents the most perfect model of pure Moorish architecture: it was founded towards the close of the thirteenth century, and from this time not a single vestige of the Byzantine or Græco-Roman style presents itself in the edifices constructed by the Moors.

The third period, from the end of the thirteenth century to the decline of the Mahometan power in Spain, is distinguished by a mixed style. The arts, which had been revived in Italy, gradually diffused themselves through western Europe, and their influence ultimately was felt in the peninsula; where the Arabian architecture had associated its combinations with those of the Greek architecture. Of this mixed style, M. Laborde has found some specimens in the fortresses of Bena-vente, Pennafiel, Cordesillas, Segovia, and Seville: the tower belonging to the cathedral of Seville, as well as one of the courts called the *Patio de las Narangas*, are, perhaps, the best preserved specimens of this style.*

The history of Arabian architecture, then, comprises a period of about eight hundred years; during which the style of the second epocha (as already mentioned) presents, in the *Alhamrâ*, the purest and best preserved specimens of Arabian skill in the art of construction, particularly in the Court of the Lions, and in the Hall of the Abencerrages.† This kind of architecture, which some eminent writers have considered as the parent of what is called the Gothic style,‡ is distinguished by

* *Descripcion Artistica de la Catedral de Sevilla*, por Don Juan Agustin Cean Bermudez (Sevilla, 1804), pp. 4, 5.

† See the "Arabian Antiquities of Spain," Plates XXXIII. to XXXVII. for views, elevations, &c. of the "Court of the Lions," and Plate XXXIX. for a view of the "Hall of the Abencerrages."

‡ So various and so contradictory are the hypotheses which have been advanced to account for the origin of pointed or Gothic architecture (as by custom it is now generally termed); and so great are the ingenuity and ability with which those opinions have been urged, that it becomes difficult to determine the question amid such conflicting evidence. The limits of a note will not admit even of the concisest abridgment of these different hypotheses, among which, that of its oriental origin, first intimated by Sir Christopher Wren, is certainly the *most probable*. But it has been much impugned by Dr. Milner in the article on "Gothic Architecture," in the 16th volume of Dr. Rees's *Cyclopædia*, and in his "Treatise on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of

the following characteristic features, viz.—1. By the crescent form of its arches ;—2. By the extraordinary lightness and elevation of its almost infinite assemblage of columns ;—3. By the springing *nerves* or mouldings of the ogives, either single, or multiplied, that fix the arches, which, descending upon the columns, either stop there, or rest on *consoles* or trusses ;—and 4. By the prodigious quantity of ornaments, either in relief or in *creux*, the composition of which is extremely varied.

The origin of the crescent arch is involved in the deepest obscurity : the ancient buildings of Arabia had it not ; as the art of constructing arches of stone or brick, appears to have been unknown in that country before the reign of Mahomet. Till then, the tribe of the Koreish had been the sovereigns of Mecca : they reluctantly submitted to the new faith, and seized the first opportunity of regaining their former ascendancy. On the death of Aly, one of that tribe seized the Khilāfat, and transmitted it to his posterity. Policy, indeed, perhaps conviction, might have prompted Muāvia to maintain the doctrine of the Korān : yet he remembered the religion of his fathers, who worshipped the goddess of generation. The crescent arch, which, it is well known, was the symbol of that deity, was first adopted by the Arabs of Syria : and the edifices, erected by them during the reigns of the Ommiad dynasty, invariably displayed the sacred arch. This figure is said, on what authority we have not been able to ascertain, to be traced on the black stone at the door

England during the Middle Ages." In this work Dr. M. attempts to refute the arguments for the Arabic or Oriental origin of Gothic architecture, contained in the elegant and instructive " Historical Survey of the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France," by the late Reverend G. D. Whittington ; whose arguments and proofs, however, are ably supported by the Reverend J. Haggitt, in " Two Letters to a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, on the subject of Gothic Architecture." An attentive study of the Treatises just mentioned, as well as the " Essays on Gothic Architecture," from the works of Dr. Warton, and Messrs. Bentham, Grose, &c. (which are in almost every person's hands), will enable the reader to determine for himself. Some additional evidence to *confirm* the hypothesis of the *Eastern Origin* of Gothic architecture, is given in pp. 33—37 of M. Lenoir's *Histoire des Arts en France*, prefixed to his " Description des Monumens Français," in the Royal Museum at Paris (8vo. 1810).

of the Caaba, which is devoutly kissed by the pilgrims who annually visit Mecca. The Khalifs of the house of Al-Abbās, as if disliking an appendage characteristic of the family they had dethroned, introduced in their buildings at Baghdad, an arch, resembling the section of an oval, taken below the transverse diameter: and the sovereigns of Granada adopted a similar arch in constructing the palace of Alhamrā.

It is, however, worthy of remark, that through the period of two hundred and fifty years, during which the house of Muāvia reigned, from the Atlantic to the Pyrenees, the arch of their ancestors uniformly prevailed in the structures erected by the Spanish Arabs. Some few arches indeed occur, which are sharp, like the Gothic; but these, as Mr. Swinburne has remarked, were probably erected towards the close of the Moorish empire in Spain.* The columns, though slender and light, are by no means deficient in beauty, and are pleasing to the astonished eye of the spectator: they are generally placed in clusters of two, three, or more together, and are surmounted by various capitals. From these capitals rise the arches, which spring from one intercolumniation to another; above the first arch rises a second, which is considerably narrower. The structure and position of these arches and columns, which form so prominent a feature in the architecture of the Arabians, is exhibited to the greatest advantage in the noble mosque at Cordova.†

* Travels in Spain, vol. i. pp. 139, 140.

† See Plate V. of Mr. Murphy's "Arabian Antiquities of Spain."

SECTION III.

ON THE FINE ARTS OF THE SPANISH ARABS.

State of the Fine Arts—Painting and Sculpture—Arabesques—Knot Ornaments—Ornamental Writing—Music, patronised by the Khalifs—Notice of eminent Professors of that Art—Marvellous Effects of Arabian Music—Its Nature and Genius.

THE ornaments, which in such rich profusion are scattered over the Moorish edifices, are not more distinguished by their variety, than by the singular delicacy of their execution: for, although painting and sculpture were odious to the first Moslems, as leading to idolatry, yet subsequently, when civilization, literature, and the arts were introduced, both the eastern and western Khalifs evaded, or violated with impunity, that precept of the Mahometan law, which proscribes every species of human representation. At first, the theologians called in the aid of geometry, in which truth resides without any mixture of idolatry, as a substitute for pictorial delineation: that science was received as the legal principle of design; and by its unerring rules the orthodox artists patiently traced those intricate lineal compartments and chiligon mosaics, which adorn the palace of Alhamrā.* From the same scruples originated that peculiar ornament, which from the Arabians, has been termed the *Arabesque*; and in which no human or animal figures appear,—the subjects, painted or sculptured, consisting wholly of imaginary plants, foliages, stalks, &c.† In later times, indeed, some of the

* See the "Arabian Antiquities of Spain," Plates XLIX. to LXV.

† Ibid. Plate LXXVIII.

eastern Khalifs caused their images to be stamped on one side of their coins, and on the reverse were some passages from the Korān in Cūfic characters ;* and in further defiance of the prophet's express mandate, Abdurrahmān III. surnamed Annasīr, placed the statue of his favourite mistress, Azzahrā, over the magnificent palace which he had erected for her reception.† The sculptured lions, ornamented tiles, and the historical paintings, still preserved in the Alhamrā,‡ are additional proofs of the advancement made by the Spanish Arabs in the fine arts. The paintings are a species of encaustic, and represent a Divān or Council, a battle-piece, a cavalcade, and hunting scenes: though somewhat impaired by the destroying hand of time, sufficient still remains to shew, what the whole originally was, and further to illustrate the civil and military costume of the Arabs.

Among the fine arts cultivated during the golden age of Arabian literature and science, that of *Calligraphy*, or ornamental writing, was an object of peculiar attention: they were indebted to the Chinese and Persians for their method of imparting a singular purity and neatness to their paper: but they soon excelled their masters, both in the manufacture of that article, and in the execution of the writing. In order to render this more fair and delightful to the eye, they employed inks of admirable lustre, and studied to adorn their manuscripts with beautiful and vivid colours: and in addition to these devices for embellishing their paper, and giving to the productions of their pen the most agreeable appearance, Casiri relates that they possessed one process which was peculiarly their own. This was a method of dressing skins, and tinging them either of a red or of a black colour, of such a remarkable lustre, that he has, oftener than once, beheld himself in them as in a mirror. It is to be regretted that the learned librarian of the Escorial did not more particularly describe these chefs-d'œuvre of the calligraphic art: his

* Cardonne Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. i. p. 330.

† See it described supra, pp. 167—174.

‡ See "Arabian Antiquities of Spain," Plate XXXIV. for the Lions, and Plates XLIII. to XLV. for the Paintings. In the descriptions which accompany those engravings, the genuineness of the Arabian pictures is vindicated.

brief notice, however, implies a very high degree of refinement in literature, not inferior, perhaps, to the finest specimens of modern typography.*

But of all the fine arts which are cultivated by civilised nations, music is that to which the Arabians were most ardently attached; the harp and other musical instruments were known so early as the time of the patriarch Job; † of the music of the Arabs of the Desert we know nothing certain; Sir W. Jones suspects it to have been little more than a natural and tuneful recitation of their elegiac verses and love songs. ‡ In later times, when the fine arts were cultivated by the Arabians, music was cherished with the greatest delight; and its professors were honoured in a peculiar manner by Almansūr, Harūn ar-Rashīd, Abdurrahmān II. and other Khalifs. The latter, we have already seen, rode forth to meet and welcome the musician Zaryāb: § and under this sovereign's auspices was founded the celebrated school of music at Cordova, which afterwards produced so many illustrious professors. ¶

The Arabs attributed supernatural powers to music: of the effects produced by their most eminent performers, very extraordinary, but well attested narratives have been related; which justify the remark which has often been made, that, like the celebrated Timotheus of old, they seem to have been able, at pleasure, by the touches of their lute, to raise or depress the passions of their masters. Three of the Arabian musicians are particularly distinguished.

1. ISHAAC ALMAUSALY, a pupil of the school of Cordova, is considered by the orientals as the most celebrated musician, that ever flourished in the world: he was a native of Persia; but, having resided almost entirely at Mousel, he derived his name of Almausaly or Moussāli, from that place. Mahadi, the father of Harūn-ar-Rashīd, having accidentally heard Almausaly sing one of his compositions, accompanied by a lute,

* Casiri, tom. ii. p. 9.

† Job, ch. xxx. v. 31.

‡ Works, vol. iii. p. 67.

§ See page 91, *supra*.

¶ Among the Arabian manuscripts in the Escorial, Casiri has described two casuistical treatises, the design of which is to prove the lawfulness of cultivating this most interesting of all the elegant arts and sciences. Bibl. Arab. tom. i. p. 483, col. 1, and p. 527, col. 2.

on which instrument he pre-eminently excelled, was so charmed with the performance, that he carried him to Baghdad, and appointed him principal musician to the court ; an office, which he filled with universal applause, during the reigns of five successive Khalifs of the house of Al-Abbās, particularly that of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd. This sovereign was so delighted with the talents of Almausaly, that the latter made one at every party of amusement given by the Khalif ; and of the effect of his musical powers, Ebn Khalikān has related the following remarkable instance : Hārūn, having quarrelled with his favourite mistress, Meridah, left her in a rage, and refused to see her again. The lady knew not in what manner to produce a reconciliation, and sunk into despair. In the mean time, the Vizir Jaafar, who had always been a friend to Meridah, sent for Almausaly ; and, giving him a song composed for the purpose, requested him to perform it with all the pathos he possessed. Almausaly obeyed : and such were the powers of his execution, that Hārūn, immediately bidding adieu to his anger, rushed into the presence of his mistress ; and, taking all the blame of the quarrel upon himself, he entreated her to forgive his indiscretion, and bury what was past in eternal oblivion. Overjoyed with this sudden alteration in the Khalif's disposition, Meridah ordered ten thousand dirhams to be given to Jaafar, and an equal sum to Almausaly ; while Hārūn, not less pleased with their reconciliation than the lady, doubled the present to each.*

2. AL-FARABI, whose universal attainments have already been briefly noticed,† among other accomplishments, eminently excelled in music, and has been styled the Arabian Orpheus. On his return from the pilgrimage to Mecca, he introduced himself, though a stranger, at the court of Saif Addaulet, Sultan of Syria, an eminent patron of literature and the sciences : musicians were accidentally performing, and he joined them. The prince, admiring his performance, requested to hear some composition of his own : he immediately took a piece from his pocket ; and, the parts being distributed among the band, the first movement threw the prince and his courtiers into a fit of excessive laughter ; the

* D'Herbelot, tom. ii. pp. 752, 753. Carlyle's Specimens, p. 40.

† See p. 243, *supra*.

next dissolved them all into tears ; and the last lulled even the performers to sleep !*

3. ABU MUHAMMAD, a musician of Baghdad, flourished in the third century of the Hijra, under the reign of the Khalif Wāthik ; who was so highly charmed with one of his compositions, that he immediately testified his approbation of the performance, by throwing his own robe over the shoulders of Abū Muhammad, and ordering him a present of one hundred thousand dirhams.†

Among the numerous treatises on music, preserved in the Escorial, two are particularly worthy of notice. The first is “ *the Elements of Music*,” by Al-Farābī : it treats on the principles of the art, the union of voices and instruments, and the various kinds of musical composition, together with the musical notes of the Arabs, and upwards of thirty figures of their musical instruments. This elaborate work, Andres remarks, proves that the Arabians applied their mathematical knowledge to the improvement of this science ; and that, although they followed the doctrines of the Greeks, yet they did not embrace it without examination, and had perhaps more correct ideas relative to the mechanical part of sounds, than their masters themselves possessed ; whose errors they corrected in various respects, while they supplied the deficiencies in their doctrine.‡ The other musical work above referred to, is the first volume of “ *the great Collection of Songs*,” by Abū-lfaragius Ali Ben Hassan Ben Mohammed, a celebrated composer who flourished in the beginning of the third century of the Hijra. The entire work consisted of two volumes.§ The volume, preserved in the Escorial, contains one hundred and fifty ariettas, the lives of fourteen celebrated musicians, and those of four eminent female singers, who were under the protection of the Khalifs.¶

But, marvellous as were the effects of Arabian music, it is to be

* D’Herbelot, tom. ii. p. 17.

† Professor Carlyle has translated the beautiful little composition, whose author was thus royally rewarded. Specimens, p. 49, 50. ‡ Casiri, tom. i. p. 347, col. 1. Andres. t. xi. pp. 122-123.

§ There is a copy of it extant, divided into *four* volumes, in the King’s Library at Paris.

¶ Casiri, tom. i. p. 347, col. 2.

regretted that little is known with certainty, either of the different kinds of their melody, or of their rules for singing; except that they had four principal modes or harmonic phrases, which they termed roots; and to which they gave the names of different countries. These modes further had a certain number of derivatives, each adapted to one particular kind of poetry, or to the expression of one distinct passion. Thus the mode, termed *Ishak*, was that appropriated to love, and the *Doughiah* to grief: and their most learned accompaniments were confined to playing in the octave. There is a very striking resemblance between the Arabian gamut and that of the Italians, which renders it highly probable that the old mode of teaching music, by what is usually called sol-fa-ing, was borrowed from the Arabs, or Moors of Spain, whose notes are named, *A la mi ré*; *B fa pé mi*; *C sol fa ut*, &c.* We are, at least, indebted to the Arabians for the invention of the lute, which they accounted the most beautiful of all musical instruments; they also made use of the organ, flute, harp, tabor, and mandoline, a small species of guitar. This last mentioned instrument was a great favourite with the Arabian conquerors of Spain; who appear not only to have introduced it, but also the custom of serenading their mistresses, still retained by the Spaniards; on which occasion, the words of their songs, the airs of the music, and even the colour of their habits, were expressive of the triumph of the fortunate, or the despair of the rejected lover.†

* La Borde, *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne*, tom. i. pp. 177, 182. Richardson's *Dissertation*, p. 285.

† *Ibid*, p. 210.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AMUSEMENTS, GOVERNMENT, REVENUES,
NAVAL AND MILITARY FORCE, &c. OF THE ARABIANS.

Manners of the Spanish Arabs—Religion—Diet—Dress—Amusements—Titles of Honour—Government—Succession to the Crown—Revenues—Army—Military Tactics, and Marine.

A STRONG similarity appears to have subsisted between the manners of the Moors in Spain and those of the natives of Arabia. Hence we find the same generous hospitality, the same high resentment of injuries, and, in domestic life, the same veneration for parents and for the aged, together with the same unqualified submission to the head of each family, which characterises the patriarchal times. But the manners of the Spanish Arabs were much softened by the cultivation of literature, the sciences, and the fine arts: and the following sketch of the manners of the inhabitants of the kingdom of Granada, drawn by the Arabian historian, Ibnū-l-Khatib, will perhaps afford a tolerably correct idea of the general manners and customs of the Moors in Spain.

Islāmism continued to be the religion of the Spanish Arabs, until they were compelled to embrace Christianity; the inhabitants of Granada are said, by their historian, to have been orthodox, tainted by no heresy, and of the sect of the Molekites. But, however rigid the first professors of Mohammedism might have been, it appears that they gradually relaxed from the strict rules and precepts of the Korān. Abdurrahmān I., who united the regal and sacerdotal functions in his own

person, instituted various solemnities for the festival of Bairam ; horse-races, in progress of time, gave way to tournaments and banquets ; truces were succeeded by intermarriages between the Musulmāns and Christians ; the native ferocity of the Arabians was softened by love ; the severity of fanaticism was corrected, while the dark mists of ignorance were dispersed, by philosophy ; and the sciences, which, we have already seen, were cultivated to a high degree of perfection, were the natural result of civilization. But that devotedness to the commands of the Khalif, which characterised the Arabs in the east, was not obliterated by their transplantation to another climate : in Spain they were distinguished for the implicit obedience which they paid to the mandates of their princes.

Further, the Granadians were patient of labour, and exceedingly liberal ; in person comely, of a middle stature, with small noses, clear complexions, and black hair. They spoke the Arabic language, with great elegance of diction, abounding with neatly-turned sententious remarks, though they are, at the same time, said to have been rather diffuse ; and, both in discussion and in argument, they were arrogant and opinionated. Most of their families were of foreign origin, and chiefly from Barbary. The citizens of Granada ate the finest wheaten bread throughout the year ; though the poorer classes and labourers were sometimes obliged, in the winter season, to be content with barley-bread, which, however, was very excellent. Fruits of every description they had in the greatest abundance, especially grapes ; the annual profit of which has been computed at fourteen thousand golden ducats (*aurei*). Ample were their stores of dried fruits, such as figs, raisins, lemons, pomegranates, chesnuts, almonds, nuts, &c. and they also possessed the art of preserving grapes sound and juicy, from one season to another.* While the Moors retained that warlike character which introduced them into Spain, and enabled them to secure their conquests, they not

* Ibnū-l Khatīb, apud Casiri, tom. ii. pp. 257-259. The whole of this historian's chronology, and history of the Spanish and African Khalifs has been translated by the learned librarian of the Escorial, who has also inserted the Arabic text,—with the exception of a few verses and grammatical explanations.

only did not lose the gallantry and love of chivalry for which the Arabs were distinguished ;* but they also improved and refined it to a degree which has justly rendered them celebrated throughout Europe, and which, it is now generally agreed, laid the foundations of that chivalrous spirit, which once prevailed universally, and some traces of which are still observable in the interior of Spain. From the Spanish ballad romances, which are either translated or imitated from the Moors, we may collect many particulars relative to the pursuits of the latter. These compositions, in a simple but pathetic manner, describe the conversations of lovers, the disputes between rivals, or their wars with the Christians,—their feasts,—the sports of the ring and cane,—their bull-course, which they borrowed from the Spaniards,—their arms, and their devices, which generally were either a heart pierced with darts, a star directing a vessel, or the initial letter of the name of a favourite mistress ; and finally, their colours, each of which had a distinct signification ; yellow and black denoting grief ;—green, hope ;—blue, jealousy ; and the violet, or flame-colour, impassioned love.† Much of the chivalrous spirit and gallantry, for which the natives of Granada were so eminently conspicuous, is to be attributed to the softer sex, whose charms and manners appear to have been every way adapted to produce the tender passion. According to Ibnū-l-Khatīb, the women of Granada were handsome, and mostly of a middle stature ; affable ; and suffered their hair to grow to a considerable length. They were lavish in the use of the most fragrant perfumes, and their teeth were beautifully white ; their gait was light and airy, their wit acute, and their conversation smart. In this age, the historian concludes, the vanity of the sex has carried the art of dressing themselves out with elegance, profusion, and magnificence, to such an excess, that it can no longer be called luxury, but has become almost a madness.‡ Their dress consisted of the finest and most costly striped Persian or Turkish robes, either of linen, woollen,

* On this subject, see Richardson's Dissertation, pp. 197-203.

† Florian, *Précis sur les Maures*, pp. 112-117. Mr. Rodd's *History of Charles the Great and Orlando*, with his *Collection of Spanish Ballads*, contains numerous pleasing sketches of the Moorish customs, &c. above alluded to.

‡ Casiri, tom. ii. p. 529.

silken, or cotton stuffs, a girdle, sword-belt, handkerchief, &c.: in winter, they wore an *albornoz*, or African cloke; in summer, a fine white linen wrapper. Both sexes, particularly the women of rank, were passionately fond of decorating themselves with hyacinths, chrysolites, emeralds, and other gems, together with ornaments of gold and precious stones; and such was the variegated splendour of their appearance, when in the temples or mosques, that they have been compared to the flowers of spring in a beautiful meadow.*

Among the diversions pursued by the Moors, we find hawking, hunting,† and horsemanship. In this latter accomplishment, they vied with the Arabs of the Desert: and the kings of Granada are said to have had a constant stock of nearly one hundred thousand horses for their own use, and for mounting their cavalry in time of war.‡ The Arabs greatly improved the breed of Andalusian horses; and the Spaniards are indebted to them for the breed they now have. The hunting excursions of Abdurrahmān III. were conducted on the most splendid scale; twelve thousand horsemen usually attending him, who were accoutred with sword belts, and scymetars, embossed with gold. Dancing was another favourite amusement of the Spanish Arabs, and was enjoyed in the highest possible degree by the inhabitants of Granada, who were in the habit of retiring every autumn to their villas in the vicinity of that city. To the Moors our forefathers were indebted for the morris dances, which anciently formed a part of their May-games.§

Of the titles of honour, and other distinctions which obtained among

* Ibid, pp. 257-259. Plates XLIII. to XLVI. of the "Arabian Antiquities of Spain," will convey to the reader some idea of the Moorish dress in its most splendid forms.

† Casiri, t. i. p. 321, col. 1, 2, has given a short account of two Arabian treatises, composed expressly on the subjects of hawking and hunting. The reader will find, in the work above referred to, in Plates XLIII. and XLIV. delineations of Arabian boar and lion hunts, executed after the original paintings in the Alhamrā.

‡ Casiri, t. i. p. 338, col. 2.

§ Casiri, t. ii. p. 259. Mr. Douce has given a very curious and entertaining "Dissertation on the ancient English Morris Dance," in his Illustrations of Shakspeare, vol. ii. pp. 431-482. See also Steevens' and Reed's edit. of Shakspeare, vol. xi. pp. 434-445, for an account, by the late Mr. Tollet, of the morris dance; of which both works contain illustrative engravings.

the Moors, we know little with certainty. Their police was confided to judges called *Alamines*, (or faithful men as the Arabic term implies), who took cognizance of the lowest causes, in which the matter at issue did not exceed two shillings: these officers also served as a kind of apparitors to the court of justice termed *Zavalchen*, to whose tribunal causes of greater moment were confided; the judges of this court decided questions between the Jews and Moors, and also exercised notarial powers, no other persons among the Saracens being allowed to draw up public instruments. Above these were the *Alcaydes*, or Alcaldes, governors of cities, whose names and powers are still retained by the Spaniards. The title of Sharīf was peculiarly honourable, being borne only by those who were descended from Mahomet. The *Hājibs* or *Vizirs* were the prime ministers of the Khalifs, and the governors of provinces were styled *Amīrs* or *Emirs*: and the sovereigns, who assumed the title of Khalifs, that is, successors or vicars to the prophet, generally added that of *Amīru-l Mūmanīn*, or Commander of the Faithful.*

Although, strictly speaking, the Spanish Arabs had no orders of nobility among them, yet there were numerous individuals of certain tribes, whose bravery, opulence, or power, had raised them to distinction. Such were the Abencerrages, the Zegrīs, and the Gomeles, who flourished in the decline of the Mahometan empire in Spain; and whose jealousies and feuds, contributed in some degree to accelerate its fall. At the commencement of the siege of Granada, they amounted, according to Pedraza, to five thousand nobles, of whom scarcely three hundred remained at the capitulation of that city, the rest having perished in duels, skirmishes, and sorties. It appears, however, that these illustrious families, as well as the other Moors, had their respective armorial bearings, as may be collected from the Ballad Romances already referred to.† The favourite ensign of the Moors seems to have been a key, as the emblem of power: it was the armorial bearing of the An-

* Du Cange, Gloss. tom. i. et vi. and D'Herbelot, in vocibus. Selden's Titles of Honour, in his works, vol. iii. pp. 188, 198 and 1055, 1056. Our English word *admiral* is of Arabic origin, having been introduced from the French, who brought it home from the crusades in the twelfth century.

† See p. 299, *supra*.

alusian Moors, who bore it on their standards as soon as they entered Spain; and it appears to have been placed as an armorial ensign over the gate of the Alhamrā. But the key, though a favourite symbol, was not their only device. In the battle-piece, copied from a Moorish picture in that celebrated palace,* the shields of the combatants display different bearings: on one, three doves are embossed; the ensign of the other it is difficult to decipher. According to Pedraza, Muhammadu-bnu-l Aamar, King of Granada, had for his standard a red banner, with the favourite motto of the Moslems—"There is no conqueror but God;"† and, for his arms, two lions crowned, supporting the royal shield.

The government of the Arabs in Spain was a military despotism, ameliorated, however, by customs and manners, which made it preferable to the uncontrolled tyranny of their eastern progenitors. The throne was elective: but the reigning monarch usually had the opportunity of transmitting it to his posterity, by associating in his power a favourite son, by conciliating the leading men in the state, and attaching them to the interests of his intended successor. Amid the various conspiracies, however, which were formed, and the revolutions which consequently took place in the succession to the throne, during the decline of the Mahometan empire in Spain, a prince of the royal race was uniformly chosen to sway the Moorish sceptre. The sovereigns were all inaugurated with the greatest pomp: and their functions chiefly consisted in the administration of justice in their halls of state, surrounded by their great men. The Korān was their sole code of jurisprudence: and the Khalif, as the supreme head of their religion, interpreted its precepts and maxims in the presence of the people, whose acclamations of joy, or murmurs of discontent, presaged a reign of long or short duration. The administration of justice was also delegated to the cādis and mūftis, whose decisions were mostly verbal, and executed

* See it delineated and described at large, in the "Arabian Antiquities of Spain," Plates XIII. to XVII. The inscription over it is translated in the Appendix, No. 1. *infra*.

† This motto occurs repeatedly on a scarlet shield, in one of the beautiful mosaics which adorn the Alhamrā. See Plate LII. of the work above referred to.

on the spot, except the matter in litigation was of great importance, in which case an appeal lay to the Alfaqui, or grand judge. The gate of law or justice in the Alhamrā, was the spot where causes were thus solemnly heard by the sovereign, and sentences pronounced accordingly. It ought not to be forgotten, that the Khalifs of Cordova were so correct and impartial in the administration of justice to all their subjects, that they permitted the Christians, (who could not be judged by the laws of the Korān, of which they were necessarily ignorant), to have their own special court of judicature. This tribunal was under the presidency of a count, to whose jurisdiction all the Christians under the Khalif's dominion were subject; and took cognizance of nearly all matters both civil and criminal; M. La Borde has stated, that in the year 861 the office of Count was held by a Lord, named Servando, and in 872 by another who was called Adulfo: the former pronounced judgment in a suit relative to the execution of a contract of sale, and the latter in an action for slander which had been brought against one Abad-Samson.†

Although, as above remarked, the Spanish Arabs had no hereditary nobility, there nevertheless were certain families, which, by their connections, and their talents, were so powerful, that, to all effectual purposes, they enjoyed the privileges and exercised the prerogatives of a powerful aristocracy. Like the ancient Arabs, however, these chieftains indulged in private feuds; which, though they were suppressed under the vigorous administration of the greatest Khalifs, continued to increase towards the close of the Moorish dominion in Spain. Among these feuds, the rival tribes of the Zegrīs and Abencerrages were eminently distinguished; and, by their intestine commotions and mutual slaughter, contributed, perhaps more than any thing else, to the final capture of Granada.

The annual revenues of the Khalifs, in the reign of Abdurrahmān III. the greatest sovereign that ever sat on the throne of Moorish Spain, have been estimated at twelve million nine hundred and forty-five thousand golden dinars, equivalent to more than five millions and a half sterling:

* La Borde, Voyage Pittoresque de l'Espagne, tom. ii. p. xxxix.

they were derived, first from a tenth of all produce whatsoever, which was paid in kind, and secondly from the *Almoxarifazgo* and the *Alcavala* or *Alcabala*, two taxes which still retain their Arabic appellations. The former amounted to twelve and a half per cent., or one-eighth part of every commodity which was either imported into the kingdom, or exported thence; its collectors were termed *Almoxariffazka*.* The *Alcavala* consisted of one-tenth part of every species of property, when transferred by sale; and a tribute of one-fifth was levied on all property belonging to Christians and Jews. These taxes were levied on all the provinces which fell under the sceptre of the Khalifs, whether by succession or conquest.† Such were the ordinary sources of revenue: but, in preparing for war, erecting colleges, bridges, palaces, or other royal edifices, extraordinary contributions were levied, denominated *gabellas*, which produced considerable sums. How Spain could furnish the means of these extraordinary expenses, is a question for the political economist to decide. The fact, however, is certain. Spain, it has been well remarked, had been the Mexico of the Romans: she was more prodigal of her revenues to her eastern conquerors, which probably exceeded the united income of all the western monarchies. Her population, notwithstanding the devastation of civil wars, was on the same grand scale: she boasted eighty great cities, three hundred of the second and third order, and smaller towns and villages innumerable. Commerce, indeed, seems to have been the fund which supplied her treasures, and sustained her population. These facts, which are related by Arabian writers, give us a clue to the hitherto unexplained magnificence of the Khalifs; and exhibit those secret foundations, on which they erected their claims to gratitude from the professors and admirers of literature, sciences, and the arts.‡

The Khalif Alhakam was the first of the Arab sovereigns who organized an army in Spain, regularly paid his soldiers, and formed magazines of military stores. Almansūr, we have already seen,§ was

* Ebn Alabar, apud Casiri, tom. ii. p. 39, col. 1.

† Cardonne, tom. i. pp. 338, *et seq.* Ducange, tom. i. in voc. Jacob's South of Spain, p. 280.

‡ Lit. Hist. of 14th and 15th Cent. p. 88.

§ Vide supra, p. 113.

a very rigid disciplinarian. In Granada, the only soldiers by profession were the royal Moorish guards; but the sovereigns of that kingdom had a constant supply of one hundred thousand horses for mounting their cavalry, and frequently mustered upwards of two hundred thousand soldiers, in actual pay, for the purpose of making war upon the Christians.* The command of the native Spanish soldiers was usually given to some relative of the monarch, or other confidential person: and their arms consisted of a short coat of mail, a light helmet, Arabian horse-furniture, a leathern buckler, and a slender spear. The mercenaries, who were born in Africa, though divided into various companies under their respective leaders, were under the command in chief of a noble Moor, who was generally related to the African sovereign; these were armed with a peculiar kind of knotted staves, or rather pikes, termed *amras*, which they drove furiously against the enemy in battle.† From a review of the various conflicts between the Arabs and the Christians, particularly the celebrated battle of Akāb, or according to the Spaniards, of Las Navas de Tolosa, (fought on the 16th of July, A. D. 1212‡), it should seem that the Moorish tactics consisted in little more than engaging with the enemy, each man fighting for himself, until the strongest or bravest remained masters of the field. Beyond this, indeed, the military knowledge of the Spaniards was not much advanced: but their infantry was superior to that of the Moors, inasmuch as they could both attack, and resist a charge, in a body; while the latter, unaccustomed to such a mode of assault, were scarcely of any service. This defect, however, was amply compensated by the superiority of the Moorish cavalry, which was composed of horsemen selected from the

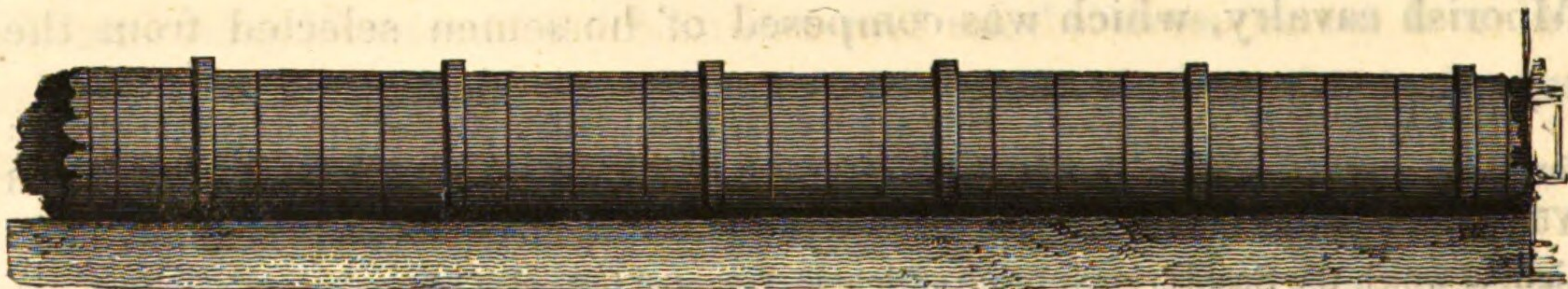
* Casiri, tom. i. p. 338, col. 2. They did not, however, confine themselves merely to cavalry: for, in the battle fought before Badajos, A. D. 1087, between Alphonso XI. King of Castile, and Yūsuf, the sovereign of Morocco, the Moors used camels which they brought from Africa; at the sight of which the Spanish horse being affrighted, retreated instead of advancing against the enemy, and threw the Christian army into utter confusion. Cardonne, tom. ii. p. 194. He adds, from an Arabian historian, that the Moors equipped the camels in such a manner, as to make the bunch or hump on their backs appear much larger than the natural size; and that this stratagem greatly contributed to the success of the battle.

† Ibid, tom. ii. pp. 257, 258.

‡ See p. 134, supra. Cardonne, tom. ii. p. 327.

best families; who were mounted on excellent chargers, to the management of which they were trained from infancy, and, darting on their opponents with the velocity of lightning, they wielded the sabre or the lance with equal activity. Having made impetuous charges, they would suddenly flee, if severely pressed, and, returning with equal speed, would often obtain the victory that appeared to have been lost. The Christians, however, had one great advantage: they were completely cased in steel, while their opponents were protected only by steel helmets and breast-plates: with respect to the Moorish infantry, it may be said to have been almost naked, the men being armed only with pikes.* But, though the Arabians were upon the whole inferior to the Christians in military tactics, their chemical knowledge gave them, during part of their conquests, an incalculable advantage over the latter. We have already seen † that they were acquainted with the composition of gunpowder; and we know from various authorities that they employed artillery. Casiri has cited two Arabic historians, who prove that it was both known and used by the Spanish Arabs in the latter part of the 12th, and at the former part of the 13th century: and has given extracts from two contemporary Spanish writers, who describe their destructive engines as being certain iron tubes or mortars, which emitted thunder and fire.‡

To the Arabs, then, we may ascribe the glory or the infamy of inventing ordnance: of the form of their cannon, it is impossible to speak with precision at this distance of time; but the annexed cut will perhaps convey some idea of its shape.



It is an ancient cannon, forming a threshold to the entrance of the Moorish castle at Velez Malaga, where our sketch was taken by the

* Florian, *Précis Historique*, pp. 73, 74. † *Supra*, p. 250. ‡ Casiri, tom. ii. pp. 7, 8.

author of the Arabian Antiquities of Spain, in June 1802 : it is broken off at both ends, and is composed of *wrought iron*.* The whole thickness of side of the cannon, at the left end, is one foot and one sixteenth of a foot, and diminishes a very little at the opposite extremity against the wall. At the time just mentioned, the upper surface was smooth and in good order ; but the lower part, which was buried in the clay, was rapidly decaying by rust, and by this time, perhaps, the relic of Moorish antiquity, above delineated, may no longer be in existence.

We learn from the Arabian chronicles, that at a very early period they had a naval armament, and that about the year A. D. 750, the emir or vice-roy Yūsuf Alfareo, caused a squadron to be destroyed, on account of the revolt of the admiral Amer Alcoraïchita. There was another constructed in the port of Algeçiras, under the reign of Abdurrahmān II. which was for some time the most formidable fleet in the Mediterranean. The Arabian navy began to decline in the year 813, after having suffered very severely in an engagement with the Count of Ampurias, and still more after it had fought the squadron of the King Don Ordoño I. in the straits of Gibraltar. At length, the squadrons of Charlemagne, as well as of the kings of Arragon and Portugal, gradually seized the maritime forces of the Arabians, until they were totally annihilated after the conquest of Algeçiras, Seville, and Almeria.†

* In modern Spain, through an unaccountable oversight on the part of the government, the cannon are made of brass, because copper happens to be abundant in that country : whereas, if this metal were sold, and its purchase money applied to the procuring of iron, they could be obtained at *one-fifth* of the expense ! See Jacob's Travels in the South of Spain, p. 77.

† La Borde, Voyage Historique, tom. ii. p. xl.

CONCLUSION.

What are the obligations of Modern Europe to the Arabs ?

It has often been the lot of men, whose talents and researches have conferred the greatest benefits on mankind, to have their labours undervalued, or their objects misunderstood by their contemporaries; although posterity has in many instances failed not to render ample justice to their important services. Something like this has been the treatment of the Arabs; whose zeal for the cultivation of letters, instead of obtaining for them the gratitude of modern ages, has not only been forgotten, except by a comparatively few eminent oriental scholars; but the Arabs have even been charged with having caused the decay and the corruption of literature. At the revival of letters, it was the fashion for the literati—Petrarch himself not excepted—to regard them as the corrupters of the sciences, as a ruthless, warlike nation, hostile to polite literature. These heavy accusations have been repeated by later writers, but, with how little justice, a slight perusal of the preceding pages will readily evince. The protection granted by many of the Khalifs to letters,—the honours and rewards they conferred on literary men—the very great number of their writings—together with their numerous schools and professors—and the magnificence of their architecture—all together may justify us in placing them nearly in the same line with the Greeks and Romans. The two last-mentioned nations, it is readily admitted, did excel the Arabs; though these may venture to contest the palm of superiority with the Romans, who were eminent in literature only, while the former successfully cultivated medicine, natural history, astronomy, and the mathematics. But the pre-eminent excellence of the Romans in polite literature,—their Livy,

Cicero, Horace, Virgil, and Terence,—almost make us forget the merit of the Saracens in cultivating the sciences.

We have already seen with what ardour the Arabians prosecuted the study of literature and the sciences: but we have not yet shewn the influence of their literature on that of the moderns. It remains, therefore, that we attempt to state the amount of European obligation to them, not only as it respects the influence of Arabian literature on the revival and cultivation of letters and the sciences, but also for those inventions, for which we are peculiarly indebted to the sagacity and industry of the Arabs.

While literature, the arts, and sciences, were most successfully cultivated by them, Europe was enveloped in the grossest darkness, particularly from the seventh to the eleventh century: ecclesiastical studies alone were prosecuted; the Greeks could no longer read Euclid or Ptolemy; and the Latins were ignorant even of their ancient language. The schools of the Christians re-echoed only with questions relative to the Gregorian chant, or disputes relative to the paschal cycle for the observance of Easter; while the Arabs in Africa, in Spain, and in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, cultivated all the sciences, and preserved the remains of Grecian knowledge. From this state of barbarism, Europe was delivered by the Moors of Africa and Spain.*

During the ninth century, according to the unanimous testimony of historians, almost every science was cultivated in Spain: the natives of that country, subdued by the powerful arms of the Musalmāns, had no other solace than to adopt and cultivate the literature of their conquerors. In a short time, indeed, they devoted themselves so ardently to Arabic studies, that Alvaro of Cordova, who flourished in the middle of the ninth century, had some reason to complain of the *excessive Arabism* of his countrymen, whose zeal for the learning and language of the Moslems ultimately caused the Latin language to fall into oblivion, and led some of them to renounce Christianity.† At length, the

* Andres, t. ii. pp. 100, et seq.

† It seems that they not only adopted the Arabic language in their common discourse, but also studied the elegancies of Arabian composition.—“*Arabico eloquio sublimati, volumina*

Arabic language became so prevalent, that John of Seville, who was not more celebrated for the extent of his knowledge than for the reputed sanctity of his life, found it necessary to publish the Scriptures, with a Catholic commentary, in Arabic, for the benefit of his countrymen. And, some years after, a collection of canons was formed in Arabic, for the use of the Spanish church, which is still preserved among the manuscripts in the library of the Escorial.*

But, though this literary intercourse between the Arabs and the Spaniards proved, in some instances, fatal to the religion of the latter, it was, upon the whole, beneficial to the community at large; and hence it may be considered as the foundation of modern literature. In the tenth century, which is peculiarly stigmatised as the age of barbarism and ignorance, Spain could boast of several distinguished mathematicians; among whom were Aiton, bishop of Ausona, (Vique in Catalonia), Lupito, of Barcelona, who excelled in astronomy, and one Joseph, who distinguished himself in arithmetic; and such was their celebrity, that Frenchmen, Italians, Englishmen, and Germans resorted to Spain, in order that they might there study the exact sciences.

The first philosopher known to have visited the peninsula for this purpose, is the celebrated Gerbert, better known by the name of Silvester II. his learning and talents having raised him to the papal see. This extraordinary man, impelled by a thirst for science, quitted his home and country at an early age, and, amid many vicissitudes, travelled over great part of Europe, for the acquisition of knowledge; but it was Spain alone could teach him what he wished to know. At Cordova, his mathematical talent, and his thirst for science were amply gratified:†

Caldæorum (thus Alvaro frequently terms the Arabs) *avidissime eructant legem suam nesciunt Christiani, et linguam propriam non adventant Latini; ita ut ex omni Christi collegio vix inveniatur unus ex milleno hominum numero, qui salutaris fratri possit rationabiliter dirigere literas. Et reperias absque numero multiplices turbas, qui erudite chaldaicam verborum pompas explicet, &c.*" Andres, t. ii. pp. 100, 101.

* No. 1618. It is executed in Cūfic characters, and was finished A. D. 1087. Casiri, tom. i. pp. 541, 542.

† Pezii Thesaurus Anecdotorum, Tom. I. Pars II. p. 147. This work contains a mathematical piece of Gerbert's. Middeldorpf, de Instit. Lit. Arab. p. 65.

and, being not less ready to communicate, than eager to acquire knowledge, he founded two schools on his return, one at Bobbio, in Italy, and another at Rheims, in France; and, as we have already seen,* was the first who introduced the knowledge and use of Arabic cyphers into western Europe. Both the schools founded by Gerbert, were numerous attended, and contributed to give a new turn to the study of philosophy. The celebrated Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, was a pupil of Gerbert's, and was indebted to him for all his mathematical knowledge. Elevated to the papacy, through the influence of his pupil, the Emperor, Otho III. Silvester II. continued to evince his love for learning, by his almost unbounded expense in procuring manuscripts, and in his generosity to scholars. So various was his knowledge, especially of the works of nature, and so marvellous in the eyes of that ignorant age, that it was deemed super-human, and ascribed to diabolical agency! His letters, of which one hundred and sixty-one are still extant, contain many curious particulars relative to natural philosophy; and his writings unquestionably contributed greatly to dissipate the darkness of the ninth and tenth centuries.†

The example of Gerbert, and the honours he deservedly acquired by his learning and talents, induced many studious men to follow his steps into those countries where learning was to be attained: to be master of Arabic, to understand books written in that language, and to translate them into another more generally used,—were studies almost indispensable to those who aspired to the character of literati, and to promote the revival of science. For many centuries, says Montucla,‡ all who enjoyed the greatest reputation for mathematical skill, drew their knowledge from the Arabs. Gherardo di Cremona, among other Italians, learnt philosophy, medicine, and astronomy, at Toledo, and translated into Latin the *Almagest* of Ptolemy, and the medical works of Rhazes

* Page 252 supra.

† Brucker, *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iii. pp. 646—650. An interesting sketch of the life and literary talents of Gerbert, is given in Mr. Berington's *Literary History of the Middle Ages*, pp. 202—216.

‡ *Hist. de Mathématiques*, tom. i. Part III. Liv. I. §. 3. pp. 502—505.

and Avicenna.* Among the English who visited Spain in the eleventh century, Adelard, a Benedictine monk of Bath, was one of the most celebrated: having acquired the knowledge of mathematics and physics, among the Arabs, he translated Euclid's Elements, and other Greek writings, into the Latin language. In the following century, Daniel Morley, a native of Norfolk, and a student in the universities of Oxford and Paris, visited Spain, and learned the mathematics and Arabic at Toledo.† In Germany, Otho, of Frisingen, and the Emperor Frederic II. in Italy, either translated, or procured translations to be made, of numerous Arabian manuscripts.

The first school of medicine, formed after the revival of letters, was that of Salerno, in the kingdom of Naples; which was an Arabian school. The medical school of Montpelier derived its origin also from the same source; and, until the 16th century, a few books of Hippocrates and Galen, which had been preserved by the Arabs, constituted almost the whole of their medical libraries.‡ The Greeks, themselves did not disdain to learn the healing art from the Arabs, and the Jews, who were distinguished for their medical skill, frequented the Arab schools in Spain.

Astronomy is indebted to the Spanish Arabs for its revival, which M. Bailly attributes to the translation of the works of Muhammad Fargani. Alfonso X. King of Castille, who has immortalized himself by his cultivation of this science, received his knowledge from the most eminent astronomers of his day, whether Arabs, Jews, or Christians, particularly the first, whom his liberality induced to settle at Toledo. The astronomical tables, which bear his name, greatly contributed to promote the knowledge of the heavenly bodies.§

Our illustrious countryman, Roger Bacon, whose writings demonstrate that he penetrated the secrets of nature at the very time when a thick

* Tiraboschi, tom. iii. lib. iv. c. 5. pp. 295—297 (4to. ed. Napoli 1777).

† Brucker, Hist. Crit. Philos. tom. iii. p. 682.

‡ Haller, Bibliotheca Medicinæ, tom. i. p. 426.

§ Lalande, Astronomie, tom. i. p. 143. Andres, t. ii. pp. 118—127, has given an interesting account of the astronomical pursuits of Alfonso X.

veil obscured the sciences, studied chemistry, physics, astronomy, medicine, and optics, in Arabic manuscripts. He cites the work of Alhazen above-noticed* on optics; and it is also highly probable, that he derived from Arabian sources those ideas, which led him to the discovery of gun-powder, with whose composition he certainly was acquainted long before its supposed invention by Berchthold Schwartz.† Vitellio, who acquired considerable reputation for his optical knowledge, merely commented upon the work of Alhazen, which he arranged in a more lucid order. Leonard of Pisa introduced into Italy a more extensive knowledge of Algebra and of figures, which he had acquired from Arabian masters; the celebrated Arnold, of Villanova, learned from them in Spain, whatever he knew in physics, astronomy, and medicine; and, to mention no more, Fabricius ab Aquapendente, who lived many centuries after, acknowledges himself indebted to the Arabs for most of his chirurgical knowledge.‡ Notwithstanding the severity of some of Abūlcasis's operations, Haller is stated by Andres to have recommended his book as a classical work.§

Huet|| has asserted that Descartes was indebted to the Arabs for his celebrated metaphysical principle,—*Quicquid potest cogitari, potest esse*. Bailly¶ affirms, that Alpetragius (or Nūreddin Petrucci)** opened the way for Kepler's discovery of the elliptical orbits of planets. Our learned countryman, Boyle, had recourse to the profound orientalist, Dr. Hyde, in order that he might draw from their proper sources the chemical treasures of the east.†† In short, without exaggerating the

* See p. 257 supra.

† Morhof, Polyhistor. t. ii. l. ii. c. 38. § 3. Henry's Hist. of Britain, vol. viii. pp. 204, 205.

‡ Dutens, Recherches, tom. ii. p. 63, 8vo. edit.

§ Andres, t. ii. p. 138. The passage of Haller, referred to by Andres, the author has in vain attempted to verify.

|| Censura Philosophiæ Cartesianæ, ch. i. ¶ Astronomie Moderne, tom. i. pp. 243, 244.

** He was a Christian by birth, who embraced Mohammedism, but retained his family name. The MS. of his Treatise on the Sphere, in which his theory of the Planets is developed, is preserved in the library of the Escorial. Casiri, Bipl. Arab. tom. i. p. 396. col. 1.

†† Hyde, Syntagma Dissertationum, vol. i. Prolegomena, pp. xvii. xviii.

labours of the Arabs, it may be stated, that we are indebted to them for the revival of all the exact and natural sciences ; and that the influence of that revival extended itself to ecclesiastical studies, and to jurisprudence.

It is well known, that what is called *scholastic theology* may be traced up to the second century of the Christian æra ; and, though from that time downward some teachers of it are to be found among divines, yet it was not until the writings of Aristotle and his commentators were diffused over Europe through the medium of translations from the Arabic, that scholasticism generally prevailed. Happily, however, amid all the extravagant subjects which presented themselves to discussion, the piety or the wisdom of the schoolmen preserved them from adopting those impious opinions too conspicuous in the Arabian school, which may perhaps be traced back to their Grecian source, and by which the power of the Deity was arraigned, and his providence disputed in the government of the world.* It ought, however, to be recollected, that scholasticism, with all its endless subtleties, was chiefly cultivated by the French and Italians, while the native Spaniards held it in little esteem, and profitably availed themselves of the knowledge of the Arabs in astronomy, the mathematics, jurisprudence, and other useful sciences. Al Shafei, who is celebrated as a leader of the Sonnite sect, had reduced the canon law of the Musalmāns into a regular system, two centuries before the Christian schools were possessed of a body of canon law. In the ninth century, the States of Arragon framed the code, denominated the *Fuero Sobrarbe*, in compiling which they consulted the Arabian jurisprudence with much advantage ; and the codes of Castille and Barcelona, framed in the following centuries, have derived much of their value from the same source.

* The rise and progress of scholastic philosophy are concisely but ably traced in Dr. Enfield's *History of Philosophy*, vol. ii. pp. 352—398.

THE preceding pages have shewn with what zeal the Arabs cultivated the sciences of the Greeks, and how important their influence was on the revival of the study of the sciences: it is however worthy of remark, that they never translated any of the great poets. Even Homer, whose poems had been translated into the Syriac language so early as the reign of Harūn Arrāshīd, was never transfused into Arabic: and, much as the Arabian muse delighted in the themes of love and wine, she was an entire stranger to the effusions of Sappho and Anacreon, and, indeed, to all the poets, orators, and critics of Greece; but this deficiency in the literature of the Arabs may readily be accounted for. When the volumes of Grecian learning were communicated to the Arabians, they were repelled from its poetry at once, by their religion, and their taste. Those beautiful mythological fables, so familiar and interesting to all classical readers, were abomination and pollution in the eyes of a faithful Moslem: hence the Arabs could not form their taste for polite literature on the pure models of the Greeks, but continued to regulate it by rules more consonant to the sentiments and taste of the Asiatics, from whom they were originally derived.

Notwithstanding the peculiarities of the Arabian poetry have concurred to render it unpopular until later times, the obligation we owe to the Arabs for the introduction of rhyme, is of too pleasing a nature not to be gratefully acknowledged. A Gothic origin has been assigned to it, and also to romantic fiction,* (which latter is probably of Breton descent); but the weight of evidence, it is conceived, will be found in favour of the Arabs. It is, indeed, very possible, that the Goths, at the

* The Gothic origin of Romances is ably supported by the late Bishop Percy, in his "Essay on Ancient Metrical Romances," at the beginning of the 3d vol. of his "Reliques of Ancient English Poetry," in opposition to the hypothesis of Warton, who deduces it from the Arabs in a "Dissertation on the Origin of Romantic Fiction in Europe," in vol. i. of the "History of English Poetry." The Breton descent of Romance, was first suggested by Mr. Leyden, in his Introduction to the "Complaynt of Scotland." An able summary of these hypotheses is given in vol. i. of Mr. Ellis's "Specimens of Early English Romances," pp. 27—41, and in Mr. Dunlop's "History of Fiction," vol. i. pp. 130—155.

time of their first entrance into Europe, from the east, might have brought with them the use of rhyme, which was prevalent among the orientals: but the essential and ancient form of versification, which was adopted among the Teutonic nations, has been discovered among the Scandinavians; and that form is alliteration, not rhyme. The same consonants are there repeated at the beginning of words, and not the same sounds at the end. The *Nibelungen*, a poem written in the early part of the thirteenth century, is composed in distichs that rhyme together, and nearly in the same manner as French verse; but the same poem, as it has been discovered in the Icelandic traditions, and which was composed in the ninth or tenth century, is *not in rhyme*.*

In the northern languages of Europe consonants abound, and hold by far the principal place, while vowels are used in the south: hence, alliteration, which is the repetition of consonants, is the ornament of the northern languages, as *assonance*, or rhyme in the vowels only, is the peculiar characteristic of all the popular songs in the languages of southern Europe; although Spain is the only country where it has been subjected to certain rules. Rhyme, however, which is essential to every species of Arabian poetry, and which was combined by the Arabs in various ways in order to please the ear, was introduced into the Provençal language by the troubadours, and with the same play upon the sounds. The most common form of Arabic poetry is that of distichs, in which every second verse rhymes together throughout the strophe, or through an entire poem. Such is the most ancient form of

* Sismondi, *Littérature du Midi de l'Europe*, tom. i. pp. 100, 101. M. Sismondi has given the following specimens of the alliterations thus substituted for rhyme, from a German imitation, by Fouqué.

*Hell verheissen
 Hat's mein oheim,
 Kurz mein Leben Kühn mein Lust;
 Rasch mein rache,
 Rauh der ausgang,
 Fliessend blut im Niflungenstam."*

This extract, it must be confessed, would have been more to the point in question, had it been given in the original Icelandic language.

Spanish, as well as of Provençal poetry. Very frequently also, in the productions of the Arabian muse, the second verse of each distich terminates with the same word ; and a similar repetition was employed by the Provençal bards. It would exceed the limits necessarily assigned to this sketch, to trace the *structure* of the Provençal verse, which evidently marks its Arabian origin : but this may further be satisfactorily accounted for, from the union of the counties of Provence and Barcelona in the close of the tenth century, which union subsisted for two hundred and thirteen years under a series of wise and pacific princes.

During this period, the arts and sciences of the Arabs were in the greatest repute ; poets and literati were in the habit of passing from the courts of the petty Moorish princes to those of Christian princes ; and thus the taste for Moorish gallantry and Moorish refinements was gradually communicated. Like the Arabian poetry, the effusions of the Provençal bards have been divided into amatory, historical, satirical, and didactic : but their most agreeable, and upon the whole their most useful performances, which most clearly shew the Arabian origin of Provençal poetry, it is difficult to arrange under any one class ; since they occasionally discuss every subject that can present itself. These are their *tensons*, or alternate couplets of contest and altercation, which the rival troubadours exhibited before royal and brilliant audiences, and advanced themselves in their art, while they give rise to much pleasing discussion. Various were the subjects, which they were required to treat in these contests : sometimes they expatiated on the different qualities by which a lover can render himself most worthy of his mistress ; at others, in what respects a knight surpasses his equals, or which is the greatest affliction, the loss of a lover by death, or by infidelity : the question, however, whether amatory or chivalrous, was decided by the audience or the judges.* Similar to these were the plays of wit, and the poetical combats, so much in fashion among the Arabians, that there is scarcely a single poet of eminence who does not relate some particulars that happened at such contests. The *Bibliothèque Orientale* of D'Herbelot abounds in similar witty sallies and

* Sismondi, tom. i. pp. 92, 93. Andres, tom. ii. pp. 311—313.

repartees: and in the library of the Escorial, there is preserved a very curious manuscript, containing not fewer than eight hundred epigrams *on one subject*, composed and uttered by Salaheddin and Tageddin at a *tenson*, or poetical contest.* In the *Silken Vest*† of Abū Baker, a native of Valentia, there are preserved numerous elegant poems delivered by Abū Jahiā, son of the King of Toledo, and Almotammed, King of Cordova, in their contest for the honour of being *Prince of the Poets*.

From the Spanish Arabs, the Christian natives of Spain adopted the practice of employing *jongleurs*, or players on instruments, who accompanied the poets; and the Spaniards were imitated by the French, among whom the *Jongleurs* were incorporated into a society, about the year 1330. By means of the troubadours and *jongleurs*, the Provençal language and poetry became generally diffused: and by means of their songs that dialect was communicated to France, Italy, Germany, and England, and in some of these countries it was partially adopted, or employed to correct their respective languages. Our King Richard I. attempted the Provençal poesy;‡ and if Chaucer did not avail himself of it to polish the English language, a question, indeed, which is yet undecided, it is certain that many of his poems were either translated, or their fables were borrowed from French and Italian writers, who drew largely from the Provençal bards.§ In Germany, the

* Casiri, Bibl. Arab. Escorial, tom. i. p. 126. col. 1.

† Ibid, tom. ii. p. 40. The MS. referred to in the Escorial Library, is a Chronological History of Spain.

‡ It is well known that Richard I. whose valiant achievements had endeared him as much to the crusaders, as his liberality did to the troubadours, was not only a great lover of Provençal poetry; but, when basely imprisoned by the Emperor Henry VI. he is said to have been indebted for his liberty to a *tenson*, or poetical contest, which had formerly been composed by him, and his faithful minstrel, Blondel; who, overhearing him while beguiling the tedious hours of confinement by singing it, thus discovered the place of his concealment, and took the necessary steps for procuring his master's deliverance. Sismondi, tom. i. pp. 144—146. M. Sismondi has given an interesting *sirvente*, or Provençal poem of the Royal Captive, together with a French version of it, pp. 147—149. The *sirvente* was a song, appropriated to politics, war, or satire.

§ Dryden's Prose Works, by Malone, vol. iii. p. 638.

Emperor Frederic Barbarossa composed Provençal poems; and it is certain, from the admissions of Bembo, Varchi, and others, that the Provençal dialect was the original of the Italian language. The sovereign princes, dukes, and lords of Italy, all wrote Provençal. Frederic I. and Charles of Anjou, who were eminent patrons of Italian literature and poetry, have left some Provençal poems; and Bembo and Redi have proved that the Provençal poets were both studied and imitated by the Sicilians and Tuscans.

Dante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio, respectively studied the Provençal language; and the first-mentioned poet has put some Provençal terzines into the mouth of Arnould Daniel, a celebrated troubadour, whom he has introduced in the twenty-fifth canto of his *Purgatorio*:* Boccaccio has enriched his *Decameron* with numerous Provençal romances and tales; and Petrarch has borrowed many ideas and sentiments, verbatim, from the Provençal poets.†

* The reader may see the passage translated in Mr. Boyd's *Dante*, vol. ii. pp. 311, 312. It has been said that Dante hesitated for a considerable time whether he should compose his poem in the Provençal or the Italian language.

† Andres has given the following passage from the celebrated troubadour, Mossen Jordi.

E non he pau, e no tinc quim' guerreig,
Vol sobre el cel, e nom' movi de terra,
E no estrench res, et tot lo mon abras;
Oy hè de mi, e vull a altri gran be,
Si no es Amor, donchs aço que sera!

Which Petrarch has borrowed, or imitated in the following manner:

S' amor non è, che dunque è quel ch' io sento!
.....
Pace non trovo, e non ho da far guerra;
E volo sopra 'l cielo, e giaccio in terra;
E nulla stringo, e tntt' il mondo abbraccio;
Ed ho in odio me stesso, ed amo altrui.

This literal imitation has induced Tassoni, Sarmiento, Sanchez, and other critics, both Italian and Spanish, whose reasonings are detailed at considerable length by the Abate Andres, to suppose that Petrarch himself had been imitated by this Mossen Jordi, whom they have made to live subsequent to the fifteenth century; while some other Spanish authors represented him as living in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and maintain, on the contrary, that Petrarch imitated

The honour, therefore, of inventing rhyme, is unquestionably due to the Arabians: but this is not the only instance in which they have conferred an obligation on literature, and the arts. We have already seen, that the old mode of teaching music by sol-fa-ing,* and also the invention of fables and tales,† probably originated with the Arabs; to whom we are further indebted for some musical instruments,‡ for the philosophy,§ and medicine,|| of the Greeks, for chemistry,¶ and pharmacy,** for the arithmetic of the Indians,†† and for various improvements in the pure and mixed mathematics.‡‡ Their communication of these different branches of knowledge, as well as the inventions of making paper and gun-powder, together with the compass, contributed to produce a mighty change on the aspect of modern Europe: and, as the two first of these inventions have been briefly noticed in a preceding page,§§ it now only remains that we shortly state their claim to the honour of discovering the mariner's compass.

This most valuable instrument has been generally known and used in Europe for the purposes of navigation, only since the commencement of the 13th century: its discovery is usually ascribed to Flavio de Gioia, of Amalfi, in the kingdom of Naples, though on what authority we have not been able to ascertain. Tiraboschi, notwithstanding his partiality for Italy, is decidedly of opinion, that the honour of its invention is due to the Arabs. Something like a compass appears to have been known to the Chinese; but our information in this respect is too unsatisfactory to be relied on, and the supposition of Trombelli, that Aristotle wrote concerning it, is equally untenable. Vincent de

Mossen Jordi. There may possibly have been two authors of that name; but there is nothing improbable in the supposition, that Petrarch imitated the Spanish poet, since he lived in the midst of Provençal poets of every nation. His beautiful Laura also spoke the Provençal dialect: and whoever attentively examines the poems of Petrarch, may find in them numerous traces of the genius of that language. Andres, tom. i. pp. 320—328, 4to. edit.

* See p. 296 supra.

† P. 238, 239 supra.

‡ P. 296 supra.

§ P. 245, 246 supra.

|| P. 248 supra.

¶ P. 250, 251 supra.

** P. 249 supra.

†† P. 251 supra.

‡‡ P. 253—258 supra.

§§ See p. 268, 269 supra, for an account of paper, and p. 250 for a notice of the invention of gun-powder.

Beauvais (Vincentius Bellovacensis) and Albert the Great, who flourished in the middle of the 12th century, both mention the poles of the magnet, as from a tract of Aristotle *de Lapidibus*, since lost, in which he speaks of amicable and of hostile poles : but this treatise had been commented upon by the Arabs ; and the words *zorón* and *afroñ*, cited by Albert the Great, are unquestionably neither Latin nor Greek, but Arabic. They are *جَار* *djarrón*, that is *hot wind*, and *أَر* *avroñ*, which signifies the *north*.

The long and laborious voyages, undertaken by the Saracens, might suggest to them the idea of contriving some instrument by which to direct their course : and since we know further that they paid considerable attention to the art of navigation, on which there is a manuscript extant in the Escorial library,* it is at least probable that they were the inventors of the magnetic needle. What affords additional strength to this conjecture is, that the Arabians are among the most ancient writers on geography and voyages, who have spoken of the compass ; and who lived prior to the supposed inventors, Marco Paolo and Flavio Gioia. The Nubian geographer, who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century, speaks of this instrument with sufficient clearness. The result of all these probabilities is, that we are indebted to the Arabs for the invention of the compass ; and that Gioia improved the rude instrument then known, and constructed another, more exact, as well as more safe and convenient, and consequently better adapted for general utility.†

In addition to the invention of the compass, and to those other discoveries for which Europe is indebted to the Arabs, Andres ‡ has offered a conjecture that they preceded our immortal Newton in discovering the doctrine of attraction. He grounds his supposition on two treatises of the celebrated mathematician, Mohammed Ben Mūsa, *de præcipuorum orbium celestium motû*, and *de virtute attrahendi*, which are

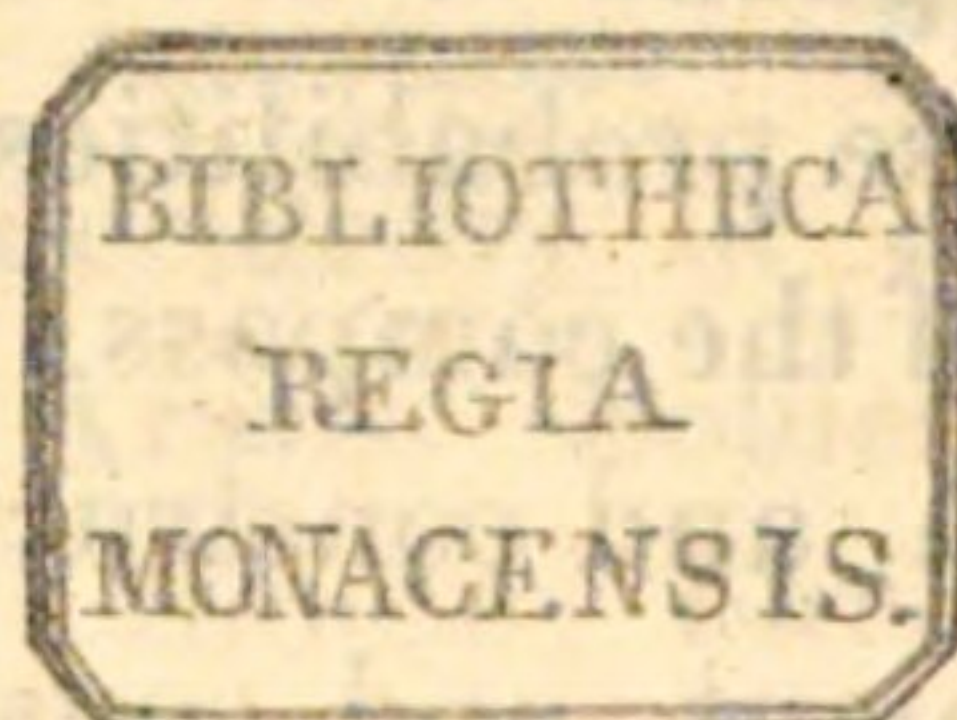
* Casiri, tom. ii. p. 6, col. 1. In tom. i. p. 388, col. 1. is noticed a treatise of the celebrated mathematician, Thebit ben Corrah, *de Sideribus, eorumque occasu, ad artis nauticæ usum accommodatis*.

† Andres, tom. ii. pp. 210-226, and tom. xii. p. 269.

‡ Tom. i. p. 236.

mentioned in the list of his works, given by his biographer.* If these pieces had been extant in any form that was accessible to European philosophers, this conjecture of the learned Abate would have had the semblance of probability: but as they have never been communicated to modern Europeans, and since it is uncertain whether they are even in existence, the honour of Newton's discovery remains unimpaired. On a careful review, therefore, of all that has been achieved by the Arabs, in the promotion of literature and the sciences, there is, we apprehend, sufficient evidence to authorize the conclusion, that modern Europe is indebted to them for most of those useful inventions, which, for so many centuries, she has quietly and uninterruptedly enjoyed. Nor can the reflecting mind contemplate, without surprise, the very low rank which that nation at present holds in the republic of letters. Their climate has undergone no change,—their religion, their government, their manners, and their sentiments, generally, have continued unalterably the same;—what, then, can be the cause of the existing ignorance, which prevails among the Saracens?

* Casiri, tom. i. p. 418, col. 2.



THE END.

APPENDIX.

A COLLECTION OF THE HISTORICAL NOTICES AND POEMS IN THE ALHAMBRA OF GRANADA.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

استيعاب ما بحمراء غرناطة من التواريخ والشعار

A COLLECTION OF THE HISTORICAL NOTICES AND POEMS IN THE ALHAMRĀ OF GRANADA.*

(Referred to, page 197 supra.)

THIS collection was made by the Licenciado Alonso del Castillo : and, though some words of the copy, from which this transcript is made, have been corrected by the translator, yet he is aware that there are several errors still remaining. Of the local allusions also, which frequently occur in the poems, the translator, having never beheld the places therein celebrated, cannot satisfy himself : and the versions given by the Spanish collector, not only betray much uncertainty, but are evidently in some particulars remote from the original meaning. The English translator has taken some freedom, but merely such as he judged requisite, in order to impart more clearly, and more connectedly, the sense of the original, than a bare literal translation could effect.

Of the difficulty of the task he has undertaken, those only, who are well acquainted with Arabic poetry, can form some idea. Verses in that language, on the common topics of poetry, are generally written with the diacritic points, in order to fix their meaning, or are accompanied with a commentary. In this instance, however, such aids not only are for the most part wanting ; but the text is also incorrect, occasioned perhaps by the errors of ignorant transcribers as well as printers ; besides which, the peculiarity of the subjects here described, and alluded to, greatly increases the difficulty of tracing aright the extraordinary courses of the Eastern Poet's imaginations. But, notwithstanding the uncertainty which, for the reasons above noticed, exists in some particulars, yet these inscriptions, in the state they have been obtained, are considered well worthy of being recorded here ; as well on account of the original application of them, as of the information they impart relative to the structures on which they are found, and the genius of the people by whom they were devised. A comparison of the

* Translated by Mr. Shakespear.

inscription, No. 2, following, with a pretended translation of it, given by the generally accurate writer Swinburne,* (the fidelity of whose description of the Arabian antiquities of Spain has been in most respects confirmed by subsequent travellers, but who was either misled by others, or attempted what he was himself wholly unqualified to perform in this instance) may serve not only to justify the foregoing remarks on the difficulty of ascertaining the import of some of these inscriptions, but as an additional argument for exhibiting them here to public notice, that imposition with respect to them may be in future obviated.

No. 1.

وهذا نص تاريخ بابها الشريف المسمى بباب الشريعة.

Inscription on the Great Gate, called Bābu-sh-Sharī'at, or the Gate of the Law.

امربينا هذا الباب المسمى بباب الشريعة اسعد الله به شريعة الاسلام كما جعله فخراً باقياً علي
الايام مولانا امير المسلمين السلطان المجاهد العادل ابو الحجاج يوسف ابن مولانا السلطان المجاهد
المقدس ابي الوالد بن نصر كاف الله في الاسلام صنايعه الزاكية وتقبل اعماله الجهادية فتسد ذلك في
شهر المولد المعظم عام تسعة واربعين وسبعماية جعله الله عزة واقية وكتبه في الاعمال الصالحة الباقية

“ This gate, named Bābu-sh-Sharī'at, may God prosper through it the
“ law of Islām even as He has established it a lasting monument of glory,
“ was built at the command of our Lord the Commander of the Muslims,
“ the warlike the just Sultān, Abū-l-Hajjāj Yūsuf, son of our Lord the
“ warlike the sanctified (deceased) Sultān, Abū-l-Walīd Ibn Nasr, whose
“ pious deeds for religion may the Almighty recompense, and whose valo-
“ rous performances in the cause of the faith may He graciously accept.
“ And it was completed in the month† of the glorious birth (of Muhammad)
“ in the year seven hundred and forty-nine.† May heaven constitute it
“ a protecting bulwark and record it among the lasting actions of the
“ righteous.”

The Gate of the Law, or of Judgment as it is usually termed by modern writers, is the principal entrance to the royal palace of the Alhamrā : for views of this noble relic of Arabian art, see “ The Arabian Antiquities of Spain,” Plate XIII. to XVII. Some observations on the architecture and decorations of the Alhamrā are given in pp. 192-198 supra.

* See Swinburne's Travels in Spain, vol. i. pp. 281, 282, 8vo. edition.

† Rabi' u-l-Awwal.

‡ A. D. 1348.

APPENDIX.

v

No. 2.

و بالدار منها المعروف بدار الاساد شعر يدير منطقة الخاصة الرفيعة التي فوق الصخرة جميل المعني نصه

In the court of the Lions are these verses of elegant meaning, around the upper fascia of the Fountain.

- | | |
|----------|--|
| Verse 1. | تبارك من اعطي الامام محمد ^١ مغاني زانت بالجمال المغانيا |
| 2. | والا فهذا الروض فيه بدايع ابي الله ان يلقي لها بالحرمين ثانيا |
| 3. | وحوزة من لولو شف نورها تجلي بمرقص الجمان النواحيا |
| 4. | بدور لجين سال بين جواهر غدا مثلها في الحسن ابيض مباحيا |
| 5. | تشابه جار للعيون بجماد فلم ندر ايا منهما كان حاريا |
| 6. | الم تر ان الما تجري بشمجها ولاكنها تبدت عليه من المجاريا |
| 7. | لمثل محب فاض بالدمع جفنه فقرض ذاك الدمع ان خاف واشيا |
| 8. | وهل هي في التحقيق غير غمامة تفيض الي الاساد منها الموافيا |
| 9. | وقد انهي كف الخليفة ان غدي نفذ الي اسد الجناد الاباديا |
| 10. | فيا من راي الاساد وهي رواض عداها الحيا عن ان تكون عواديا |
| 11. | ويا وارث الانصار لا عز كلاله تراث جلال تستحق الروسيا |
| 12. | عليك سلام الله قايمًا ابدًا ^١ تحرد اعبادا و تبلي اعاديا |

- Verse 1. " Blessed be He who gave our sovereign, Muhammad, a mansion
" that in beauty surpasses (all others) the delightful mansions.
2. " But if not (so), yet this bowers enfolds wonders, to which Heaven
" forbids that in the two sanctuaries (even) any thing comparable
" should be found !
3. " With a pile of dazzling pearl rising over a surface on which the
" gem (like bubbles) receding danse ;
4. " In a circle of silver flowing among jewels which it resembles in
" beauty, pure and contending with them in splendor.
5. " Flowing (indeed) it appears to the eye as the solid (mass) so that we
" are at a loss to distinguish which it is that really flows.
6. " Seest thou not how the water runs confusedly together, whilst
" (various) currents appear (descending) from above ?
7. " Like the lover, whose eyelids gush with tears ; and, who restrains
" them when afraid of an informer.

8. " But, is it in fact any other than a bright cloud, from which supplies
" are poured out abundantly to the Lions ?
9. " Resembling the extended hand of the Khalif, when engaged in
" imparting benefits to the furious lions of war.
10. " Then, O thou, who beholdest the lions, which are at rest (assure
" thyself of safety); life is wanting (to enable them) to rush forth !
11. " And, O Thou who inheritest (the glories) of the sons of *Nasr* ! to
" the most noble of family belongs that possession of greatness
" which princes rightly claim.
12. " On thee be the constant blessing of heaven ! Mayest thou restrain the
" extravagancies of (thy) subjects and subdue (all) opposers !"*

No. 3.

وبدارها الشريفة منها الشمليه صرح قمارش في الحايط الذي من خارج قبة الاعلي قبالة الصهريج شعر نصه

Within this magnificent palace, on the north side, is the tower of Comaresh ; and, on the wall that is on the outside of it, over against the basin, are the verses of which a transcript is here given.

- | | |
|----------|--|
| Verse 1. | تبارك من ولاك امر عباده فاولي بك الاسلام فضلاً وانعما |
| 2. | فكم بلدة الكفر صبحت اهلها وامسيت في اعمارهم متحكما |
| 3. | وطوقتهم طوق الاساري فاصبحوا ببابك يبنون القصور تخدمنا |
| 4. | وفتحت بالسيف الجزيرة عنوة فتحت باباً كان للنصر مهيماً |
| 5. | ومن قبلها استفتحت عشرين معقلاً وصيرت ما فيها لجيشك مغنماً |
| 6. | ولو خير الاسلام فيما يريد فها اختر الا ان تعيش وتسلمنا |
| 7. | لقد لاحت انوار الجلالة ببابك يقتتر منها الندي بشرا وابتسما |
| 8. | وتلك اثارها في كل مكرمة امدي واوصح من در اذا انتظما |
| 9. | فيا ابن العلا والحلم والباس والندا ومن فاق افاق التجوم اذا انتها |
| 10. | طلعت بافق الملكاية رحمة لتجلو ما قد كان بالظلم اظلمنا |

* This inscription is much defaced ; and there is not only great doubt as to the true reading, in many instances, but some of the allusions are also very obscure : so that, though the translator has repeatedly attempted the subject, he is sensible that he has not been able to do justice to it. The very beautiful Court and Fountain of Lions are delineated in Plates XXXIII. to XXXVII. of the " Arabian Antiquities of Spain."

11. فامنت حتي الغصن من نعمة الصبا وارهبت حتي النجم في كبد السما
 12. فان رعشت زهر الكجوم فخيفه وان سال غصن البان شكرت دايمًا

Verse 1. " Praise to Him who has committed to Thee the government of His
 " servants, and through Thee graciously extended the Faith, and
 " benefitted it.

2. " How many were the cities of infidels, on the people of which thou
 " camest at morn, and by night their lives were at Thy mercy !

3. " When Thou boundedst them in the bonds of captivity, and they
 " came to thy court as slaves to construct thy palaces.

4. " And Thou conqueredst, by force and by the sword, the peninsula,
 " opening a gate to victory which was shut before.

5. " But prior to these (atchievements) Thou subduedst twenty fortresses,
 " making all they contained the prey of thy warriors.

6. " So that, had the Faith a choice of what it most desires, it would not
 " fail of choosing this, that Thou live and prosper.

7. " Truly the luminaries of greatness have risen in Thy court ; and, by
 " reason of them, liberality gay and smiling has fixed her abode
 " there :

8. " The traits of which, in every act (of Thine) are more numerous and
 " striking than the bright series of connected pearls.

9. " Whence, O son of eminence, of wisdom, of might and of fame!
 " who surpassest (in highness) the utmost regions of the stars,

10. " Thou hast ascended in the sphere of empire (as the sun ascends the
 " vault of heaven) mercifully to dissipate the shadows of oppression
 " which had intervened.

11. " So that Thou assurest the tender branches, of safety even from the
 " breath of the zephyrs ; and, Thou terrifiest the very stars in the
 " center of the sky.

12. " For, if the bright luminaries tremble (in imparting their twinkling
 " rays) it is through dread (of thee) ; and, if the branches of the
 " bower* wave, it is constantly an act of gratitude to Thee !"

* Literally, " of the bān," a beautiful tree growing abundantly in some parts of Arabia, and frequently mentioned by the poets of that country.

No. 4.

وعلي الخزينة اليمني بداخل الصرح المذكور شعر يديرها من جميع جهتها

Over the recess, on the right hand side, within the abovementioned tower, are these verses surrounding it.

- Verse 1. يا ابن الملوك و ابناء الملوك ومن تعنوا التجوم لهم قدرًا اذا انتسب
 2. ان كنت شيدت قصرًا لا نظير له حاز العلي وتمت من دونه الرتب
 3. حيث الخلافة يتلي من عجائبها غرائب اودعتها الصحف والكتب
 4. شيدت لدين في عليا شاهية بيتًا من العز لم يمدد له طناب
 5. كم من يد لك في الاسلام قد سلفت تحفي ويظهر من اثارها العجب
 6. نعمي ولا منة جدوي ولا عيدة رحمي ولا غلظة عفوي ولا سبب

Verse 1. " O son of kings, and of the descendants of kings, to whom the stars
 " yield in dignity when your origins are compared !

2. " If thou raisest up a palace, there is no equal to it ; it comprises great-
 " ness, and all the degrees (of greatness) are completely beneath it :

3. " Where are rehearsed the rare wonders of the government, deposited
 " in records and in books.*

4. " On a lovely eminence thou hast pitched, for the Faith, a tent of glory,
 " to support which not a cord is stretched.

5. " How many are the good deeds which Thou hast already done in the
 " land of Islām, wonderful in their effects !

6. " Benefits (conferred) without reproach (for them) ; gifts (made) with-
 " out return (for them) ; mercy (shewn) without severity ; forgive-
 " ness without blame !"

No. 5.

وعلي خزينة اليسري شعر نصه

And over the recess on the left is the following.

- Verse 1. ان ابن نصر وما ادرك من ملك من قصره طالعات النصر ترتغب
 2. مريد ترهب الالف صولته لو اوعد الافق ما لاحت له شهب

* This recess or cabinet seems to have been a repository for state papers : and, it may be here re-
 marked, that allusion is generally made in these poems to the appropriation of the rooms where they
 are respectively inscribed.

3. يحدو الملوك أي أبوايه رهب ان العفات حداها نحوها الرغب
 4. مما تعود من جور و من كرم لا يمسك المال الا ريشما ييب
 5. لا زال في عزة تعنو الملوك لها ويرهب الناس منها العجم و العرب

Verse 1. " Truly Ibn Nasr is equalled by no king. From his court the omens of
 " victory are sought.

2. " Heaven-supported ; thousands tremble at his rage : were he to threaten
 " the region of the sky, not a luminary in it would appear.
 3. " Princes are agitated at the splendor of his genealogy. He is dreaded,
 " though his nature impels him to beneficence and mercy,
 4. " From whatever is the practice of injustice : and, through the generosity
 " of his diposition, he holds his wealth only whilst giving it away.
 5. " May He never fail in that dignity which (other) kings revere : and,
 " may all men, whether barbarians or Arabs, stand in awe of it ! "

No. 6.

و بالطاقة من اليمني طيقان هذه القبة الغراء وصفا بجمالها شعر نصه

In one of the windows, on the right hand side of this proud Saloon,* are the fol-
 lowing verses, descriptive of its elegance.

- Verse 1. انا محلاة عروس ذات حسن و كمال
 2. فانظر الابريق تعرف فضل صدقي في مقال
 3. واعتبر تاجي تجده مشبهاً تاج الهلال
 4. وابن نصر شمس فلک في ضياء و جمال
 5. دام في رفعة شان امنا وقت الزوال

Verse 1. " I am the ornamented seat of the bride, endowed with beauty and per-
 " fection.

2. " (Dost thou doubt it?) look then at this basin; thou wilt be fully
 " convinced of the truth of my assertion.

* Apparently the Saloon in the tower of Comaresh, before-mentioned, justly called the Proud or Golden Saloon, from the superb ornaments which were bestowed on it, in the richest profusion. For views of this noble apartment, as well as its various mosaics, and other ornaments, see the " Arabian Antiquities of Spain," Plates XL. XLI. LVI. to LXI. LXII. to LXXVII. and LXXXI. to LXXXIII.

3. " Regard, also, my tiara ; thou wilt find it resembling that of the crescent moon.
4. " And, Ibn Nasr is the sun of my orb in splendour and beauty :
5. " May he continue in the (noontide) altitude of glory, secure (from change) whilst the sun sets and disappears ! "

No. 7.

وبالطاقة التي بقبالة المذكورة شعر

In the window opposite the one above mentioned are these verses.

- | | |
|----------|--------------------------------------|
| Verse 1. | انا فخر صلاة سمت السعادة |
| 2. | تحسب الابريق فيه قايماً يقضي عباده |
| 3. | كلما تفرغ منها وجفت فيها الاعاده |
| 4. | وبمولاي ابن نصر شرف الله عباده |
| 5. | قد نماه سيد الخنجر جبي سعد ابن عباده |

- Verse 1. " I am the glory of the oratory, which surpasses the zenith of felicity.
2. " In it thou mayest imagine the basin to be as one constantly engaged
" in devotion :
3. " No sooner has he once performed his adoration, than he hastens again
" to repeat it.
4. " And, through our Lord, Ibn Nasr, has the Almighty exalted his creatures ;
5. " Who claims his descent from the Prince of the tribe of Khazrij, Saad
" ibn Ubāda."

No. 8.

وبالطاقة التي تلي المذكورة نثر للعين وكذلك في الطاقة التي بقبالتها وفوق كل وحدة منهن شعر

In the window next to the last mentioned, is some prose apparently ; as likewise in the window opposite to it ; but, over each are verses, and those over the right hand window are as follows :

- | | |
|----------|---|
| Verse 1. | فُتُّ الحسان بحلتي وبتاجي فهوت الي الشهب في الابراج |
| 2. | يبدواناء الماء في كعابد في قبلة المحراب قام يناج |

3. ضمنت عليّ من الزمان مكارمي ذي الاولام و حاجة المحتاج
4. فكاني استغديت اثرا النداء من كف مولانا ابي الحجاج
5. لا زال بدرًا في سماي لا يحا ما لاح بدر في الظلام الداج

Verse 1. "The most beautiful I surpass in my robe and tiara ; so that the luminaries of the Zodiac are descending to me.

2. "The water-basin which I enclose, seems as a worshipper who stands in the Kibla of the sanctuary, performing his devotions.
3. "Secure against the current of time are my generous deeds to the thirsty ; and (they are) the desire of (those so) oppressed.
4. "So that in my effects I seem to be liberality itself (proceeding) from the hand of our Lord, Abū-l-Hajjāj :
5. "May He never fail shining, the bright luminary in my hemisphere, as long as the full moon continues to dispel the shades of night !"

No. 9.

و علي اليسري شعر نصه

And over the right hand window are these verses.

- Verse 1. دقت انا مل صانع ديباجي من بعد ما نظمت جواهر تاج
2. وحكيت كرسي العروس و زفته اني ضمنت سعادة الزوج
3. من جاني يشك الظما فموددي صرف الزلال العذب دون مزاج
4. فكاني قوس الغمام اذا بدا والشمس مولانا ابو الحجاج
5. لا زال محروس المثابة ما غدي بيت الله مثابة الحجاج

Verse 1. "Delicately have the fingers of the artist woven my drapery, after the jewels of my crown were set :

- 2 "So that I resemble the throne of a bridegroom ; nay I excel it in this, that I fail not of securing the felicity of those who enjoy me.
3. "If he that approaches me complains of thirst, the aid I afford is a cool grateful liquid, unmixed and undefiled !
4. "As if (in comparison) I was the bow of the clouds, when it appears (the harbinger of rain) ; and the sun (on whom I depend) our Lord, Abū-l-Hajjāj.
5. "Never may his abode cease to be under the protection of heaven, as long as the house of God shall continue the resort of the faithful !"

No. 10.

و بالقبة الوسطي المذهبة التي كانت كرسي الملك شعريديرها

In the middle Golden Saloon,* which was the throne of the empire, are these verses surrounding it.

- Verse 1. تحييكت مني حين تصبح او تمسي تغور اليمن و المني والسعد والانس
 2. هي القبة العليا ونحن بناتها ولاكن لي التفصيل والعزفي جنس
 3. جوارح كنت القلب لاشك بينها وفي القلب تبدو قوة الروح والنفس
 4. وان كان اشكالي بروج سمايها ففي عدا ما بينها شرف الشمس
 5. كساني مولاي المويد يوسف ملابس فخر و اصطناع بلا لبس
 6. وصيرني كرسي ملك فايدت علاه بحق النور والعرش والكرس

- Verse 1. " By me be thou saluted both at morn and at night, with the tongues of
 " happiness, blessing, prosperity and joy !
 2. " This is the sublime dome, and we (the several apartments) are her
 " daughters ; but to me belong excellence and dignity, above (all
 " my) kindred.
 3. " Members (are we of the same body but) I am indisputably the heart
 " in the midst of them ; and, from the heart springs the energy of
 " soul and of life.
 4. " Granted that my fellows are the constellations of the Zodiac in the
 " heaven of this structure ; yet in me exists, over what they possess,
 " the pre-eminence of the sun.
 5. " Me, my august sovereign, Yūsuf, has adorned with the robes of glory,
 " and of preference without disguise :
 6. " And, he has constituted me the throne of empire ; the eminence of
 " which be upheld by Him, to whom belongs the divine glory and
 " the celestial throne."

* Called by the Spaniards *La Sala de Embaxadores*, or the Hall of Ambassadors. The original of this poem, in its ornamented characters, is given in Plate LXXXI. of "The Arabian Antiquities of Spain."

No. 11.

وبداخل القبة العلي القبلية الرابعة شعريدير جميع جهتيها الاربعة بتخميس جميل المعني

Within the Sublime Saloon to the south, and which is the fourth, are these verses passing round the four sides, together with others in the pentagon,* of elegant meaning.

- Verse 1. اباهي من المولي الامام محمد بافضل من يات ومن كان ماضيا
 2. تبينت له خمس الشريا معيزة ويصبح معتل التواسم راقيا
 3. وتهوي النجوم الزهر لو ثبتت بها ولم تك في افق السماء جواريا
 4. وبين يدي مولانا قامت لخدمة وخدم الاعلي استفاد المعاليا
 5. وكم من قسي في دراه ترفعت على عمد بالنور باتت حواليا
 6. به المرمر المجلو قد شف نورها فيجلوا من الظلماء ما كان داجيا
 7. ولم نري روضا منه انعم نظرة واعطر ارجاء واحلي مجانيا
 8. فيجلو حجر الروض حول غصونها دنانير شمس تترك الروض حاليا

- Verse 1. " The splendor which I possess is (derived) from my Lord and Sovereign, *Muhammad*, the most excellent of those that shall be and that have been.
 2. " At night the five pleiades attend on him ; and, at morn, the feeble gale becomes a charmer for him.
 3. " In my splendor, too, the bright stars of heaven desire to be fixed, and to be no longer wandering in the regions of the sky ;
 4. " But to stand before my sovereign, obedient to his commands ; for they who serve the most exalted, gain the highest honours as their rewards.
 5. " How many, in the expanse of this (hall) are the arches, raised upon columns, (shining) with a brilliancy that illumines all around !
 6. " Here is the polished marble, whose dazzling splendor beams forth so that every shade is dispersed, which intervened (before.)
 7. " Never have we beheld a bower, more delightful to the sight, whose borders are more fragrant, and whose fruits are more sweet.

* Or, five sides, or five divisions ; for the exact sense of the Arabic word is a distribution or arrangement of any thing in five parts.

8. " Even the stones (forming the pavement) of it reflect among its branches the (sun's rays as) coins of gold, to complete its ornaments."

The third, fourth, fifth, and sixth verses of this poem, are engraved in the original characters in Plate LXXXVI. figures 1-4, of the "Arabian Antiquities of Spain."

No. 12.

نص التخميس

Inscription on the Pentagon or Five Divisions.

- Verse 1. انا الروض قد اصبحت بالحسن حاليا تأمل جمالي تستفيد شرح حاليا
 2. فله مبناء الجميل فانه يفوق علي حكم السعود المبانيا
 3. فكم فيه للابصار من مبهرة تجيد به نفس الحكيم الامانيا
 4. به القبة الغراء قل نظيرها تري الحسن فيها مستليا وباديا
 5. تمد لها الجوزاء كف مصافح ويدنوها بدر السماء مناجيا
 6. ولو مثلت في ساحتها وسابقت الي خدمة ترضيه منها الحواريا
 7. ولا عجب ان فانت الشهب في العلي وان جاوزت فيها للمدا المتناها
 8. بها البهو قد حان البها وقد عاد به القصر افاق السماء مباها
 9. وكم حلة جلالة يحليها من الوشي تنسي السابري اليمانيا
 10. فتحسبها الافلاك دارت قسيها تظل عمود الصبح اذ لاح باديا
 11. سواريا قد جاءت بكل غريبة فصارت بها الامثال تجري سواريا
 12. اذا ما اضاءت بالشعاع تحالها علي عظم الاجرام منها لاءليا
 13. فلم نري قصر منه اعلي مظاهرا و اوضح افاقا و افسح ناديا
 14. مصارفة التقدين فيه بمثلها اجاز بها قاضي الجمال التقاضيا
 15. فان مالت كف النسيم مع الصحا دراهم نور ظل عنها مكافيا
 16. وبين الفتح اشرف نسبة فاحسن منها نسبة هي مائهيا

Verse 1. " I am the bower: truly I appear decked out in beauty! shouldst thou survey attentively my elegance, thou wilt reap the advantage of a commentary on decoration.

2. " Surely to God must be ascribed this perfect structure; for, it exceeds the buildings (of mortals) in the measure of its success.

3. " How many are the views it enfolds delightful to the sight ! In it the
" mind of the sage is gratified beyond all it could have desired.
4. " Here is the proud Alcove, unequalled ; where thou wilt discover
" beauty in every recess as well as in the parts exposed.
5. " To it (the Alcove or vaulted building) the constellation of the Twins
" stretches out the hand of salutation, and the full moon of heaven
" draws near to converse with it.
6. " (Yea happy would they be) if they stood in its courts, and could con-
" tend with each other in performing that service, by which His
" friends gratify him.
7. " And, it would be no wonder, if the luminaries were to fail in the
" regions above, and were to fix themselves in this alcove, the
" utmost goal of desire :
8. " Where is the portico by which elegance is outdone, and through
" which this palace surpasses the heavens in splendor.
9. " How many are the robes of his magnificence in which it is adorned,
" whose richness makes undeserving of notice the vaunted texture
" of Yaman !
10. " So that thou mayest imagine it to be the heavens, and the celestial
" orbs revolving in its arches, which appear as the radiance of the
" advancing morn.
11. " (With) columns displaying all that is exquisite, and from which the
" beauty of columns has become currently proverbial.
12. " When the beams of the sun illumine them, thou must imagine them
" to be precious gems, notwithstanding the magnitude of their
" size.
13. " Never have we beheld a palace more lofty in its outward appearance,
" of clearer atmosphere, or of more extensive apartments.
14. " In it is not only paid the debt with costs, exacted by the judge of
" elegance ; but, the double of that amount is produced.
15. " And, when the hand of the zephyr sinks under the noon-tide rays, the
" golden coins of light issuing from it are fully satisfactory.
16. " Between me and Victory there is a striking resemblance ; observe it
" well ; it is the brilliancy of appearance (we each bear.)"

The sixth, tenth, and eleventh verses of this poem, in the original characters, occur in plate LXXXVII. figures 3, 4, and 5, of the " Arabian Antiquities of Spain."

No. 13.

وعلي تمثال طاقتين بالقبة التي بداخل هذا الصرح الي الرياض هنالك شعر

Over the resemblances of two windows in the Alcove (perhaps Gallery) which is on the outside of this tower, towards the Gardens, are these verses.

- Verse 1. كل صنع اهدي الي جماله وحبائي بهاءه وكماله
 2. من راني يظنني كلداتي تخطب الابريق تبغي ان تناله
 3. فاذا مبصري تاء مل حسني اكذب الحسر بالعيان خياله
 4. وتري البدر من شقوق ضيائي حل طوق السعود مني هاله
 5. لست وحدي قد اطلع الروض عجباً لم تري العيون مثاله
 6. ذاك صرح الزجاج من قد راه ظنه لجة تروع وهاله
 7. كل هذا صنع الامام ابن نصر حرس الله للملوک جلالة

Verse 1. "Every art has endowed me with its excellence; yea its beauty and
 "perfection it has presented to me.

2. "He who beholds me likens me in idea to a female, addressing this
 "basin, which (as her beloved) she strives to obtain.

3. "And when the spectator has surveyed my beauty, the dimness in his
 "eyes (occasioned by his earnest gazing on me) proves the inade-
 "quacy of his conception of it.

4. "From the burst of my splendor thou mayest behold the full moon,
 "whose halo beams forth in my arch as in the mansions of the sky.

5. "Yet I am not alone (to be wondered at), for I overhang in astonishment
 "those bowers, to which eye has seen no equal.

6. "This is no other than a palace of chrystal; the beholder fancies it to
 "be a tremendous ocean (so boundless is its extent) and he stands
 "aghast at (the sight of) it.

7. "All this is the creation of the Imām, Ibn Nasr, whose greatness may
 "Heaven uphold for (other) Princes (to revere)."

The second, third, and sixth verses of this poem are engraved, in the original characters, in Plate LXXXVI. of the work above referred to.

No. 14.

وعلي مستدير الطيقان الثلاثة شعر نصه

In a circle round the three windows are these verses.

- Verse 1. وحاد بها برد الهوا نسيمها فصحت هوا و النسيم اعتلا
 2. وقد حزت من كل المحاسن غاية تقيس عنها الشهب في الافق الاعلا
 3. واني بهذه الروض عين قديرة فانشأت تلك العين حقا هو المولا
 4. محمد المحمود بالبأس والندا وذو امية ما اعلي وذو الهدي ما احلا
 5. تجلي بافق الملك بدر هداية فاثارة تحلي وانواره نجلا
 6. وما هو الا الشمس حلت بمنزل تفي عليه كل حيرا به ظلا
 7. يطالع مني حظوة الملك كلما تجلي بكرسي الخلافة فاستجلا
 8. ويرسل طرف الصرف في ملعب الصبا فيرجع مرتاح النواسم قد حلا
 9. منازل فيها للعيون منازة تقيد فيها الطرف لو تعقل العقلا

- Versé 1. " Into it, too, descends the zephyr of the cool air, whence the tempera-
 " ture of the place is correct, and its gale ascends.
 2. " Truly I enfold the extreme of every beauty, beneath which the lumi-
 " naries in the highest region of the sky sink in comparison.
 3. " And, to these bowers I am the principal eye ; and, this eye has exhi-
 " bited (an image of) the divinity : He is the sovereign,
 4. " Muhammad, the illustrious in valour and liberality, who claims a
 " maternal genealogy the most eminent, and a matrimonial con-
 " nection the most proud.
 5. " In the hemisphere of empire He shines forth the full moon of
 " righteousness ; whence, His good deeds appear the more beau-
 " tiful, and His glories the more pure.
 6. " But, He is no other than the sun that has entered this mansion ; the
 " whole of which in astonishment serves only (as a cloud) to over-
 " shadow Him.
 7. " From me may he contemplate the prosperity of his kingdom, as often
 " as He unveils himself on the throne of empire and displays His
 " majesty.
 8. " And, let Him but direct a glance of his authority to the quarter where
 " the zephyrs play, the balmy gale will obey his summons. Surely
 " He has adorned

9. " Mansions containing delights for the eye ; which must remain ever
" captivated in them, if rightly endowed with discernment."

و فوق هذا الشعر خط حسان يقول فيه
عز لشراف الأعصار و فاتح الأمصار مولانا ابي عبد الله فخر بني الانصار

Above these verses is the following line.

- " Glory to the most illustrious of ages, the subduer of cities, our sovereign
" Abū Abdillāh, the pride of the sons of Nasr."

No. 15

Epitaph on the Sultān Abū-l-Hajjāj-Yūsuf.

(Referred to, page 139 *supra*.)

In a garden fronting the court of the Lions, there were found, some years since, four stones, bearing the epitaphs of four kings of Granada; and, a transcript of one of them, being that of Abū-l-Hajjāj Yūsuf, is thus given.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

- Verse 1. يحييك بالريحان والروح من قبري رضي الله ممن حل فيك مدا الدهر
2. الي ان يقوم الناس تعنوا وجوههم الي باعث الاموات موقوف الحشر
3. ولست بقبر انما انت روضة منعمة بالريحان عطرة النشر
4. ولو انني وفيك الحق لم اقل سوي يا كمام الزهر او صرف الدر
5. ويا ملحد التقوي ويا مدفن الهدى ويا مسقط ويا مغرب البدر
6. لقد حظ فيك الرجل اي خليفة اصيل المعلي غرة في بني نصر
7. لقد حل فيك العز والمجد والعلي والمستجار لدي الذعر
8. ومن كابي الحجاج حامي حمو الهدى ومن كابي الحجاج ماحي دجي الكفر
9. سلالة سعد الخزرجي بن عبادة وحسبك من بيت رفيع ومن خطر
10. اذا ذكر الاغضاء والحلم والتقي وحدثت عن علياه حدثت عن البحر
11. مخونه صرف الزمان وهل تري بقاء لحي او دواما لامر
12. هو الدهر ذو وجهين يوم وليلة ومن كان ذا وجهين يعتب في غدر
13. تولى شهيدا ساجدا في صلاته اصيل التقى رطب اللسان من الذكر

14. وقد عرف الشهر المبارك يوماً افاض من النعمي وفي من البر
 15. وبات عيد الفطر و الامر مبهرم وليس سوي كاس الجهادة من فطر
 16. فله منها ميثمة عمرية علي جدة الملك المسهد والعمر
 17. اتيج له وهو العظيم مهابة وقدر حقيق الذات والخلق والقدر
 18. شقي اتته من لدنه سعادة ومنكر قوم جاء بالحديث النكر
 19. وما غضر من عال جناية سافل واسباب حكم الله جله عن الحصر
 20. فهذا علي قد قضي بابل ملجم واوقع وحشي بحمزة ذي الفخر
 21. نعد الرماح المشرفية والقنا ويطرق امر الله من حيث لاندر
 22. ومن كان بالدنيا الدانية واثقا علي حالة يوماً فقد باء بالحشر
 23. فيا ملك الملك الذي ليس ينقضي ويا من اليه الحكم في الخلق والامر
 24. تغمد بستر العفو منك ذنوبنا فلسنا نرجي غير عفواك من ستر
 25. والحف امير المسلمين برحمة تبوءه دار المثابة والاجر
 26. فما عندك اللهم خير ثوابه وابقى ودنيا المر خدعة مغتر
 27. تغمد الله مولانا برحمته وجمع شمله بسلفه المقدس في جنته

Translation of the Epitaph on Abū-l-Hajjāj Yūsuf, Sultan of Granada, who died on the first of the month Shavwāl, being the festival immediately subsequent to the fast of Ramazān. The manner of his death, to which, as he fell by assassination, various allusions are here made, is thus related by Ibnu-l-Khatīb, a witness of the event. "Whilst at divine service in the public mosque, a desperate man rushed upon him and plunged a dagger in his side. At the crying out of the Sultan, the ceremony of prayer was stopped; and the attendants, as well as the rest of the congregation, having run to the spot with their swords drawn, dragged forth the murderer, whom they burnt without delay: and the Prince expired almost immediately on being conveyed to the palace."

In the name of God The merciful and The forgiving !

Verse 1. " May the favour of heaven towards him who inhabits thee, my tomb,
 " hail thee with grace and mercy whilst time endures :

2. " Till, in the universal assembly at the resurrection, man falls on his
 " face before the Raiser of the dead.

3. " But, thou art not a tomb ! Thou art in truth a bower, replete with the
 " sweetest plants, whence odours breathe !

4. " Nay, were I to do justice to thee, I could not but say, O calix of the
 " flower of beauty ! O shell of the invaluable pearl !

5. " O recess of piety ! O retreat of righteousness ! O asylum of greatness !
 " O west in which the full moon of excellence has set !

6. " In thee what a Prince has taken up his abode ; by birth the heir of
" pre-eminence, the glory of the sons of Nasr !
7. " Yea, in thee now resides Virtue and Worth and Honour, and the
" Protector to whom the oppressed fled for refuge :
8. " He who was the great among believers—the maintainer of the defence
" of righteousness ; and, he who was the great among the faithful—
" the disperser of the shades of infidelity !
9. " Offspring of Saad Ulkhazrijy son of Ubāda !* Thy dignity is
" derived from an exalted house as well as from thy own desert.
10. " Were his forbearance and clemency and piety to be recounted, and
" wast thou to attempt a description of his greatness, thou mightest
" as easily define the immensity of the ocean.
11. " Treacherous to him was the revolution of time : but seest thou any
" one living that enjoys immortality, or aught that endures for ever?
12. " It is Time, double-faced, day and night ; and how can the double-
" faced be blamed for deceit ?
13. " He departed, a martyr, in the very act of prayer—constant in devo-
" tion—his tongue moist with the accents of praise.
14. " Lo, he had respect to the sacred month, when he completed his mea-
" sure of goodness, and finished his pious task !
15. " But, the festival he observed in sadness, inevitable the occurrence ;
" and the cup of martyrdom was his only repast.
16. " To Heaven must be ascribed his fate, similar to that of Omar,† on
" the summit of empire and in the prime of life.

* Celebrated ancestors of the deceased.

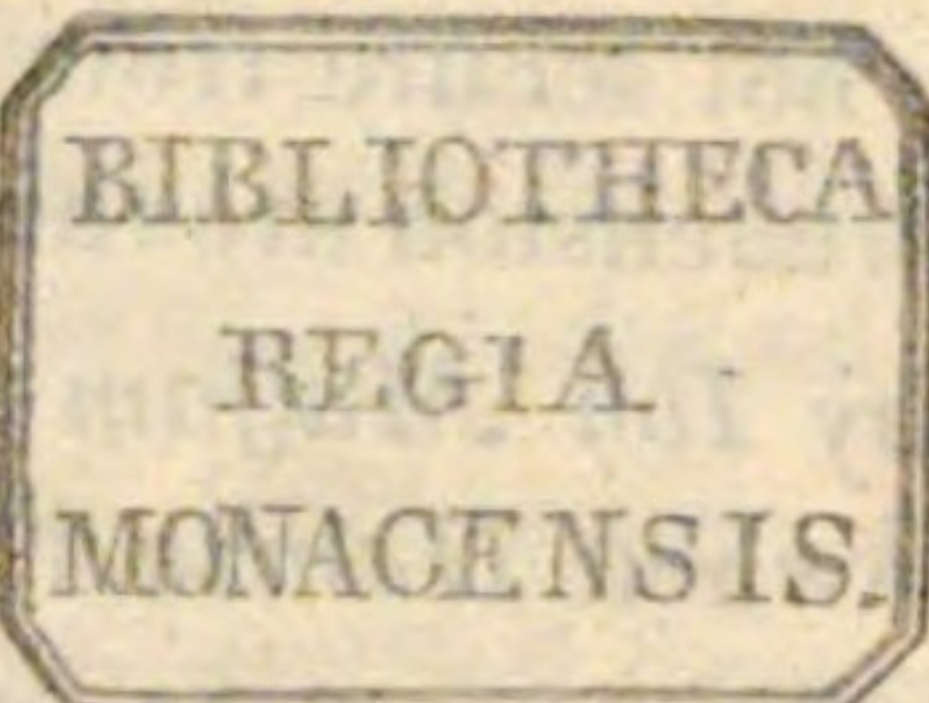
† The Khalif, Omar, was assassinated by Abū Lūlūa, servant of Almughīratu-bn Shaaba, when entering the mosque for morning prayers : and the occasion of the murder as well as the murder itself, are thus related by Ibnu-l-Athīr. Abū Lūlūa, a foreigner, whose proper name was Fīroz, complained to Omar of the heavy tribute which his master, Almughīra, exacted of him : and, on the Khalif's asking how much it was, he replied, " one hundred dirhems a month." The Khalif then said, " what is thy trade ?" when the complainant enumerated several arts or trades which he practised : and Omar expressed his opinion that the sum required was not too much for so many professions. The Khalif, moreover said, " am not I told that thou sayest, If I like, thou wilt make for me a mill, which shall be turned by the wind ?" then, said he, " make me one." The artist replied, " I will make for thee a mill of which the people in the east and in the west shall hear"—alluding to his murder. Omar then turned away, saying, " surely the barbarian had the insolence to threaten me." A few days afterwards, Abū Lūlūa laid wait for the Khalif, at the hour of morning prayer, struck him at his going forth to that ceremony, with a poniard, and wounded him about the waist in six places ; one of which wounds, and the mortal one, was on the navel. From this anecdote it seems that windmills were not then known in Arabia, or the western parts of Asia : and, if Abū Lūlūa, who was a great mechanic or artist, had not seen an invention of the sort requested by the Khalif, in some other country, as he was a foreigner, apparently from his original name, a Persian, he may have been the first deviser of that curious machine.

17. " Destined to (invade) him, though great in power and in renown,
" was one mean of birth, of soul and of repute :
18. " A wretch with whom commenced his bliss : for, through the most
" insignificant of men are the direst events (occasionally) produced.
19. " And the most exalted are not secure from the insults of the base : and
" beyond (human) comprehension are the reasons of the divine decrees.
20. " Thus, *Aly* was cut off by *Ibn Muljam* ;* and, beneath the hand of
" *Wahshy* sunk the renowned *Hamza*.†
21. " Though we prepare the blades of *Mushraf* ‡ and select the firmest
" spears, yet the decree of Heaven will overtake us where we expect
" it not.
22. " And he who trusts to this frail world, however high his state may be,
" will inevitably one day experience disappointment.
23. " Then, O sovereign of the kingdom which has no end ! and, O Thou
" who possessest the sway and dominion over all !
24. " Cover our errors with the veil of thy forgiveness ; for, by it alone can
" we hope that they be concealed.
25. " And, clothe the commander of the faithful in the robe of Thy mercy,
" which shall bring him to the mansion of retribution and of joy.
26. " With Thee, O God, is the real, the everlasting, bliss ; but, this world
" is merely a delusion to ignorant and heedless man.
27. " May the Almighty vouchsafe mercy to our Prince, and join his
" separation to his holy ancestors in Paradise."

* The Khalif, *Aly*, was assassinated by *Ibn Muljam* in the mosque at *Cūfa* whilst in the act of prayer.

† *Hamza*, son of *Abdu-l Mutallab*, uncle of *Muhammad*, a celebrated Arabian chief, and a great defender of his nephew's cause and religion, was slain in battle by a black slave named *Wahshy*.

‡ A district of Arabia or Syria, famous for the manufacture of swords.



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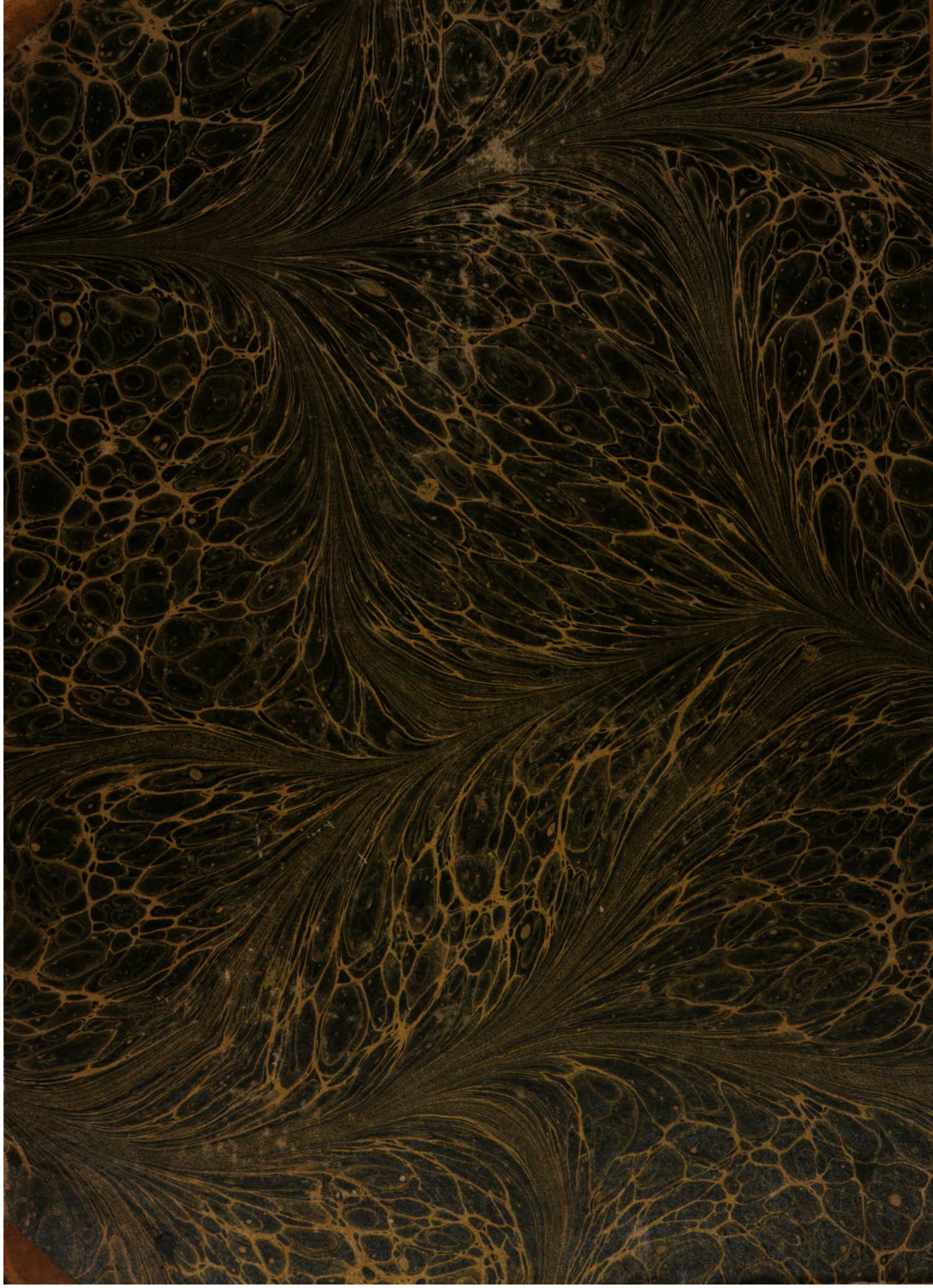
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